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The Shape of Things

THE CONDON EPISODE, MORE BRAZEN BUT not essentially different from most of the Thomas committee's behavior, raises the problem of what relief the citizen may be offered from the high-handedness of Congressmen gone berserk. The remedy lies in the first instance with Congress itself, and it is to be hoped that for the sake of its own prestige that body will adopt the excellent resolution introduced by Senator Lucas setting up minimum standards for the conduct of Congressional investigations. It would prohibit demands for any but relevant evidence and testimony, forbid statements to the public without approval of a majority of the committee, and, above all, prevent publication of charges or allegations against any person who had not had the opportunity to present a sworn statement in his own behalf. The Lucas resolution will have hard going in both houses, Congressmen being extremely sensitive in the matter of their powers and prerogatives. But there is nothing in the Constitution or in the writings of the Founding Fathers to indicate that election to Congress confers on an individual the freedom to slander or the right to deprive citizens of their jobs, their reputations, and their earning capacity without due process of law. Whether or not the Lucas resolution is enacted, we believe that a judicial test should be made of the supposed right of committee members to broadcast such statements as the charge against Dr. Condon when they are made neither in the course of hearings nor on the floor of Congress. In the last analysis, however, the remedy lies with the voters. If we elect such un-American Congressmen as Mr. Thomas, we must expect un-American activities—even on Capitol Hill.

*

THE BY-PRODUCTS OF THE CZECH OVERTURN multiply as the days pass. Although some limits are being set to the power of the Action Committees that effected the coup, a purge of political parties, national organizations, schools and colleges, and newspaper staffs has already been accomplished. People expelled from jobs for political reasons are being sent into labor battalions; a firm censorship is being clamped on press and radio, and two issues of the United States Embassy bulletin giving the American version of the coup have been outlawed. The process of "coordination" has, in fact, been faster and more thorough than in the other Eastern states despite, or perhaps because of, the greater strength of the non-Communist groups in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, the government has announced its intention to continue trade with the West, even though it plans to reduce the output of the light industries that account for most of its exports. Heavy industries are to be given priority under the new regime, more particularly those that can contribute directly to war preparations "as an offset to the rebuilding of the Ruhr" by the Western powers.

*

BY WAY OF COUNTERPOISE, EFFORTS TO cement the seams in the Western bloc are being pushed ahead with extraordinary speed. A "defense and friendship" pact among Britain, France, and Benelux is almost completed, and while the United States still remains officially aloof, its intimate concern with the new arrangements is not concealed. In the end, a tight alliance including this country is all but certain, though it may not be proposed formally before election day. More surprising, in view of past differences, is the agreement by Britain, France, and America on Germany and the Ruhr. Although final details will be taken up at another meeting in April, the present plan provides "in principle" for a federated Western Germany to include the French zone, "international control of the Ruhr in which Germany would be represented," and a general increase in German industrial output. To arrive at an understanding, both French and British had to yield to American pressure, the French accepting a higher level of production than they have in the past considered safe, and the British giving up the demand for nationalization of mines and big industries in the Ruhr. Reporting the agreement in the New York *Times* last Sunday, Herbert L. Matthews remarked:

> Whether United States pressure was the deciding factor in these compromises would be hard to say definitely tonight, but a shrewd guess in that direction would probably not go far wrong. Certainly, the European Recovery Program played an important role in the talks and it placed a decisive weapon in Mr. Douglas's hands. The Czechoslovak developments were also in everybody's mind. . . .

So the world moves dialectically—step by step—toward war.

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MILITARY AID FOR CHINA WILL PROBABLY get Congressional approval despite Secretary Marshall's continued personal objections. Mr. Marshall has had to fight an intra-Administration battle on the China program for many months. Although General Wedemeyer, Admiral Leahy, and others have been urging direct military support, the Secretary is convinced, on the basis of his own observations, that it would be useless. He has described the Chinese struggle, in policy meetings, as not so much a fight between Communists and anti-Communists as the uprooting of a feudal system which will take many years to accomplish. After many heated arguments, Mr. Marshall finally announced that he would stake his knowledge of military strategy against that of any of his disputants. The Secretary now faces the same battle against Congressional forces led by Representative Judd and other defenders of Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Republican leaders of the House want to put the Chinese, Greek-Turkish, and European Recovery programs into one omnibus bill, and Senator Vandenberg has indicated his acceptance of the idea. The present strategy of Secretary Marshall is to keep the three aid plans separate, so that a fight against either the Greek military program or China relief would not impede the adoption of E. R. P. If Republican opposition defeats this maneuver, Mr. Marshall will hardly risk antagonizing the majority party and slowing up E. R. P. by insisting on his own China program.

*

THE STEEL EXECUTIVES WHO TESTIFIED before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report last week gave a singularly unconvincing explanation of the recent rise in steel prices. They professed themselves mystified by the public clamor their action had caused, but they seem to have left their interlocuters even more puzzled by their resolute refusal to take into account the broad implications of that action. Both Benjamin F. Fairless of United States Steel and Arthur B. Homer of Bethlehem insisted that they had been selling semi-finished steel below cost and saw no reason to continue doing so. But they had no answer when Senator Taft suggested that, if they were losing money on this one product, they must, in view of the total profits they were earning, enjoy very large margins on other items. Mr. Fairless maintained that recent price increases on both finished and semi-finished products affected only 25 per cent of the corporation's total volume and were therefore "too small and unimportant" to be inflationary. It is difficult to believe that a business man of his standing can have so little comprehension of how the price spiral operates. His noted predecessor, Andrew Carnegie, might have explained it to him by quoting the homespun Scots proverb: "It's mony a pickle maks a mickle." Even harder to swallow were the bland assurances of Messrs. Fairless and Homer that there

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was no consultation between the various companies in the industry before they raised prices practically simultaneously and by the same indirect method of shifting from a gross-ton to a net-ton basis for quotations. It is really unfair competition with the pulp-fiction industry to stretch the arm of coincidence to such length.

✶

PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAS ASKED CONGRESS for a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act which expires on June 12. "The importance of the act," he wrote, "is greater today than it has ever been." It is, in fact, an essential tool for the work of rebuilding world trade on which all future hopes of peace and prosperity depend. Lapse of the government's powers to negotiate reciprocal tariff reductions would probably prove a death-blow to the International Trade Organization charter, now being painfully hammered out at Havana. Certainly, the world at large would take it as a sign that the United States was abandoning its fourteen-year-old policy of reducing trade barriers and returning to Hawley-Smootism. Yet Republican Congressional opinion appears to be hostile. Many members of the G. O. P. cling to protectionist shibboleths, quite unconscious of their absurdity in a day when we are the one great creditor nation. Such legislators are apt to pay more attention to the plaints of protected industries, which fancy themselves damaged by the twenty-two-nation agreement negotiated at Geneva last fall, than to the manifest need of an increase in American imports if other nations are to continue to trade with us. Actually, there is no evidence that the many tariff reductions which became effective at the beginning of this year have opened the way for a flood of foreign goods. It is to be hoped, therefore, that consumers, many of whom would welcome some foreign competition in the supply of scarce and high-priced goods, will raise their voices too. Public-opinion polls reveal strong support for the Trade Agreements Act. If the Republicans can be convinced of that, they may hesitate to kill it in an election year.

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A STRANGLING MONOPOLY IS BRINGING great wealth to one Seattle family of shipowners and penalizing the people of Alaska, as Richard L. Neuberger makes clear on page 300. The Territory will suffer an equally serious injury if Congress passes the Alaska Salmon Trap bill (S. 1446, H. R. 3859), which has received the blessing of Secretary of the Interior Krug. The bill confiscates in the most barefaced manner the fishing rights in certain salmon-rich Alaskan waters now held by natives, and grants to absentee Seattle interests the privilege of installing more "efficient" trapping methods. This is something the outsiders have long demanded, but according to the Association on American Indian Affairs, their purpose is not to produce tins of salmon but to reduce the salmon run to a point where "scarcity" profits will soar. Meanwhile, the natives—many of whom fish for a livelihood, and most of whom eat fish for survival—are threatened with starvation. Tuberculosis always accompanies malnutrition, and already the tuberculosis rate among Alaskan natives is thirty times as high as among other Americans. Congress ought to reject the bill on humanitarian grounds; if it needs a more formal reason, our legal history furnishes proof that the Alaskan Salmon Trap bill would deprive the Alaskan natives of their property without compensation or due process of law.

The Deportation Cases

IT TOOK the Justice and Immigration departments two or three decades to get around to the deportation cases of some alien Communist leaders, but now that the hunt is on, it is being pursued with great energy. Twenty-seven pending cases have been reopened as one after another prominent "foreigner" has been arrested and booked for deportation hearings. We put the word "foreigner" in quotation marks because it requires some definition; three of the four persons most recently and noisily arrested—Claudia Jones, Ferdinand C. Smith, and Irving Potash—have been living in this country for twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-three years, respectively. Claudia Jones, in fact, came to the United States from Trinidad at the age of nine, Potash from Russia at the age of twelve. In the fourth case—that of John Williamson—the facts are not clear. Williamson claims that he was born in San Francisco "in 1902 or 1903" and that papers which prove this were destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906. The Justice Department will attempt to show that he is lying, and that he came to America from Scotland, where he was born.

What is indisputable is that all the reopened cases are those of radicals who with very few exceptions—Smith is one—freely admit to being or having at one time been Communists. And the deportation warrants charge them with being or having been members of an organization that advocates "the overthrow of the United States [government] by force and violence."

Here, we think, the pursuers have overreached themselves. No court in the United States has sustained the deportation or denaturalization of a Communist on the "force-and-violence" clause since the Supreme Court found it untenable in the Schneiderman case, argued before the court by Wendell Willkie in 1942. In his historic opinion refusing to allow the denaturalization of William Schneiderman, then secretary of the Communist Party in California, Justice Murphy pointed out that there is "a material difference between agitation and exhortation for present violent action which presents a

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clear and present danger of public disorder . . . and mere doctrinal justification or prediction of the use of force under hypothetical conditions at some indefinite future time."

The issue was extended from the field of denaturalization to that of deportation in the Bridges case of 1944. Again it was Justice Murphy who, in a concurring opinion, said, "I am unable to believe that the Constitution sanctions" ouster of an alien "who subscribes to an unpopular political or social philosophy."

But we do not have to go as far back as 1944 to find what immigration officials themselves think of the "force-and-violence" charge. On last February 10, the Board of Immigration Appeals—in a finding *approved by the Attorney General*—noted that "the [Communist] 'Manifesto' does not call for the forceful overthrow of the government of the United States." Just ten days earlier, the board had held it "improper" to take "judicial notice of the Communist Party, to which appellant belonged in 1933," without an analysis of party doctrine at that date and since.

At about the same moment that this condemnation was being offered in the front office, Tom Clark was telling the House Un-American Activities Committee that "we have found it more practical, effective, and speedy" in the prosecution of subversive individuals and organizations "to proceed under other statutes" than those outlawing "force and violence." The Attorney General must have been talking about the prosecution of *citizens*, since in the cases of aliens—all of which ultimately fall under his jurisdiction—he clearly hopes to make the "force-and-violence" argument stick. It will be curious indeed if a charge that cannot constitutionally be proved against an American Communist is held valid against an alien. It is even more curious that "subversive aliens" can apparently be subjected to that double jeopardy our laws traditionally forbid; for having once been investigated, cleared, and granted entry, any reconsideration of their status amounts to such. This is a point upon which the higher courts have not yet ruled but which calls for clarification at the earliest possible opportunity. Until such time, the outrageous implication is that a person who entered the United States at the non-political age of, say, nine, like Claudia Jones, may be expelled from the country at any later date if she has meanwhile acquired a political philosophy of which the immigration authorities disapprove—but which is permitted to citizens.

This may be Americanism to Mr. Clark and others. To us, it is neither constitutional nor intelligent. The true purpose of reopening the alien cases was of course to demonstrate the vigor of the Justice Department in playing its part in the cold war. Unfortunately, the result will not disturb the Kremlin nearly so much as it does any good American who believes, with Justice Murphy, in "the freedom [of the individual] that belongs to him as a human being and that is guaranteed to him by the Constitution." Now that the cases have been reopened, each will have to be considered on its merits. It is quite likely that false statements made by some of the applicants for immigration rights upon entry will reappear to plague them now. But even this "crime" becomes less serious when it is remembered that certain of the alleged falsifiers, like Hanns Eisler, were fleeing from Hitler and lied—if they did—to save their lives. If this be held against them now, the asylum we once offered is nothing to be very proud of.

Palestine, a New Spain?

WHETHER or not Palestine, like Spain before it, is to be the victim of the immorality of the big powers, and in the end touch off a new conflagration, will be evident on Tuesday when the permanent members of the Security Council report whether they have agreed to a formula for "implementing the resolution of the General Assembly." One thing is certain: after they have reported, the United States will not be able to hide its real attitude toward partition behind the screen of double-talk which has until now surrounded its statements to the Security Council. This is the meaning of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on March 5.

Much depends on the President. The big-power consultations will prove fruitful only if Mr. Truman finds the courage to overrule the State Department's policy and issue a new directive placing this country squarely behind action to insure implementation. If he fails to do so, we shall be courting what we say we want to avoid—Russian penetration of the Middle East. As long as the present directive stands, no agreement for implementation will be reached, and the Soviet Union may emerge as the only big power favoring the General Assembly's resolution. The State Department's Russian experts may attribute this to Moscow's expansionist interests; but to large sections of world opinion the Soviet Union, on this question, will appear as the moral victor.

Nor will a retreat from partition bring peace to Palestine. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver told the Security Council that the Jews would establish the Jewish state in accordance with the Assembly's resolution without the aid of the U. N. if need be. When they do, they will invoke the sympathy and help of peoples throughout the world, and even of governments. The ensuing struggle could well become the first battle of a new war.

As the situation stood a week ago, the United States, France, and China openly advocated an attempt at conciliation, which means revision. Even the defeat of the paragraph in the American resolution calling for

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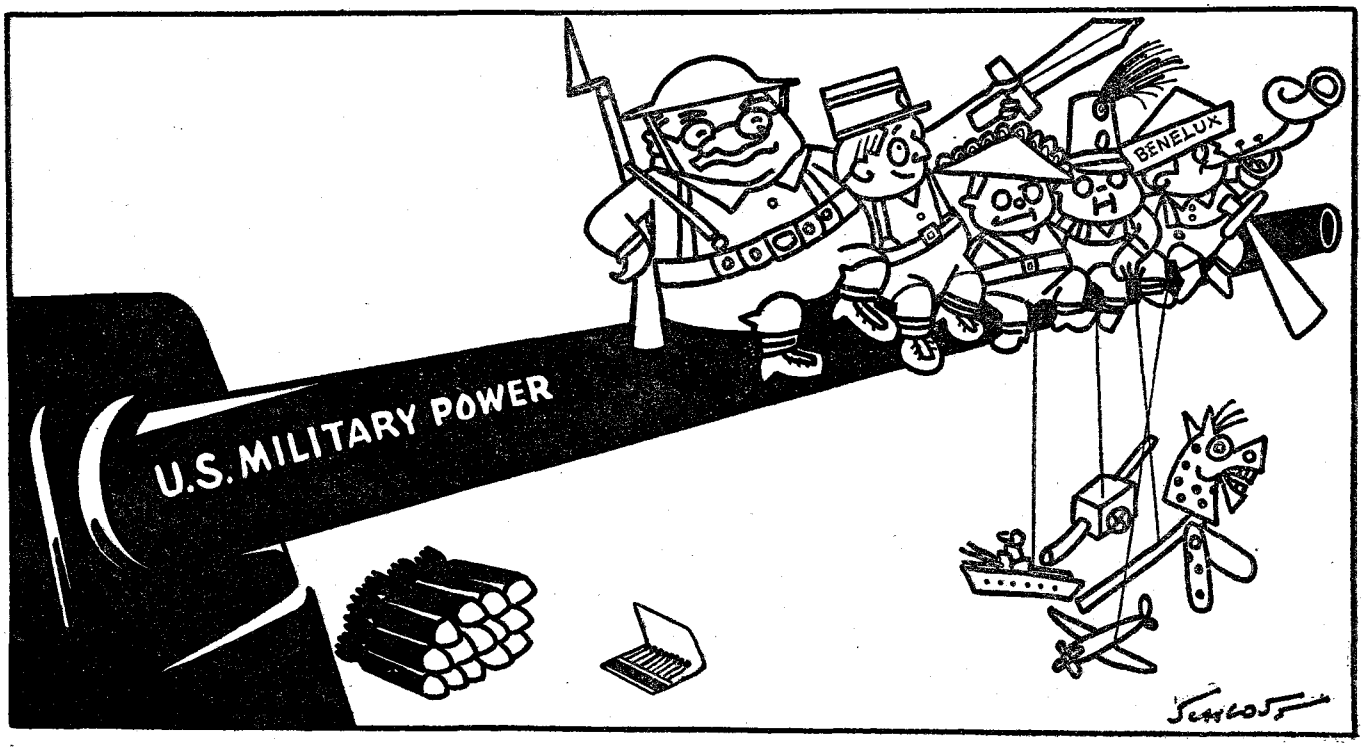
conciliation was not accepted as final by the United States delegation. A statement issued after the vote insisted that the language of the resolution as adopted "is broad enough to comprehend points B and C of the second paragraph of the original resolution"—point C being the deleted reference to conciliation and point B the request to consider whether or not the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

The British, despite their abstention from the vote, continue their campaign against partition, and have refused to join the consultations. A further avenue of retreat from the partition resolution was offered by Mr. Creech Jones, Britain's Colonial Secretary, who told the Security Council that the threat to peace and security was *inherent in the partition resolution* and would continue as long as the resolution stood. China and France joined the chorus. Dr. Tsiang said that neither peace nor partition could be imposed by force. France charged the Jewish population of Palestine with co-responsibility for violence and accused the Jewish Agency of making no serious attempt to stop acts amounting "practically to organized assassination."

In spite of all these ominous words, there is nothing in the present Palestine situation which did not exist last fall when the President directed the United States to support partition. As far back as October 31, when the first American plan for implementation was presented, Herschel Johnson told a press conference that, if the Arabs resisted partition, there was no reason why the Jewish state could not be set up and the Arab area turned over to the Trusteeship Council. On November 22, he told the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, "We do not say we anticipate no trouble." And on November 25, he voted for the Danish amendment which specified that "the Security Council should determine as a threat to peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, *any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution*" (our italics).

Since November 29, when partition was adopted, the press has headlined daily reports of armed Arab defiance of the U. N. resolution. The Commission on Palestine made these charges specific in its two reports to the Security Council. But so far, the United States has ignored the charges. Nor has it paid any direct attention to the commission's request for a non-Palestinian force to maintain internal order. Instead of taking a position consistent with its own commitments and the expressed opinions of its delegates when partition was voted, it has invented equivocal formulas to cover its retreat. This straddling must be stopped—and the President can stop it. If the present big-power talks are not to end in a new stalemate, Mr. Truman should demand that the British end their sabotage and that the arms embargo be extended to the Arab states within the Arab League; he should promise United States participation in the arming of the Jewish militia and United States approval of a small-power international force made up of existing contingents, with big-power support guaranteed in the event of external aggression. These steps are the necessary prerequisite to any action in support of partition. They must be taken quickly or they will be too late and the hope of peace will be lost.



WESTERN MILITARY ALLIANCE

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A Word to Mr. Wallace

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TO MR. TRUMAN, it must seem cruel and paradoxical that the threat to his candidacy should come simultaneously from opposite political directions. To see his Northern strongholds successfully invaded by Henry Wallace's growing army and at the same time to suffer the wrath of the embattled Southern reactionaries is an ordeal the President is bound to resent under his new sun-baked smile. Hating each other, the two sets of dissidents have in effect united to bring him down and it has all happened suddenly, in the short space of an ill-timed holiday.

The crystallizing of anti-Truman feeling is described on the next page of this issue. But beneath the obvious facts a deeper process is going on. Political molds are breaking and reforming; in America, as in the rest of the world, one senses a shift toward left and right, a swelling dislike of things as they are and a fear of things as they may be. In this process, Wallace has come to represent the pressures toward change; Truman is hardly more than their victim, a small neutral figure who has lost meaning for liberals and conservatives alike. It is not that Truman is a worse President than he was two months ago when he still registered high on the public-opinion polls. Not even his recent bad record of dismissals and appointments or his pusillanimous handling of the Palestine problem would by itself account for the massive swing against him, though it surely helped lose the Twenty-fourth District in New York for the Democrats. The thing is more profound. We are witnessing, I believe, one of those popular revulsions of feeling that ultimately produce major political readjustments.

THE question is: how can progressives take advantage of the earthquake that has loosened Mr. Truman's grip on his own party? As the cracks open under his feet and the Republicans prepare to take over, only a bold and concerted plan on the part of progressive political leaders will prevent catastrophic defeat for the liberal forces.

This goes for Mr. Truman and Mr. Wallace, and for the advisers of both. It is too late, in my opinion, to accomplish the liberal rehabilitation of the President. The time has passed when, in order to win the important states, it is enough to show that his program and intentions are more decent than those of the Republicans. Nor is it sufficient for Wallace to demonstrate that he can bring about a Democratic defeat. What is needed is a plan that will put a progressive in the White House and, in doing so, prepare the way for an alignment in which a reunited liberal force can hold power.

For Mr. Fitzgerald to demand an all-out attack on Henry Wallace as part of his effort to salvage New York for Truman and the Democratic Party, seems to me nonsensical. Appeasement is bad tactics in dealing with an enemy; it is essential in dealing with a disaffected ally. What is needed today is reunion, not war, among the elements of the independent left.

FOR many reasons, I believe the best chance of such a reunion lies in Wallace himself taking the initiative. Just because he has shown that he can probably encompass the defeat of his old party, he is in a unique position to help remake Democratic policy. However greatly his own ambitions may have mounted, Mr. Wallace is too good a progressive to take satisfaction in merely slipping the skids under Mr. Truman. He must believe that his larger mission is to assist in bringing about the basic political realignment which world events, and his own rebellion, have made possible.

Wallace can afford to be magnanimous since he holds the balance of power. If he will use his present leverage to bring about agreement with key liberals in the Democratic high command on a progressive candidate of unquestioned ability in place of Mr. Truman, offering to withdraw from the race and back such a man, his stature as a leader will be far greater than if he merely proves he can elect Mr. Taft or Mr. Dewey.

There are, of course, problems of policy to be solved before agreement can be reached. Mr. Wallace has burned a few bridges since he set his army on the march, but surprisingly few. He has not taken many irrevocable positions; his progressivism even today is eclectic rather than doctrinaire. He is campaigning against the E. R. P. because he believes, with much good reason, that it will be perverted to ends of power and political division in Europe. With a progressive whom he trusts at the head of the Democratic ticket in place of the well-meaning, pliable Mr. Truman, most of Wallace's objections might evaporate. And so would those of millions of liberals who share his fears. As for his other chief plank, opposition to compulsory military training, a large part of the Congress, conservatives and liberals alike, of both parties, would be glad to duck the issue altogether until after election.

If these two problems can be resolved or tabled for the duration of the campaign, I see no reason why ground for united liberal action should not be discovered. Mr. Wallace could make the attempt without accepting in advance any unreasonable compromise.

Is this asking too much of the future third-party nominee for the Presidency? On the contrary, in my opinion it is offering him a unique opportunity to help bring about a necessary political revolution. The most Mr. Wallace loses is the chance to run a race which must end, if he does well, in his own defeat and that of

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his old party. He stands to win the leadership of that powerful "second party" he has so often advocated. He stands to unite, around a candidate agreeable to him, not merely his own independent following, but the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, the A. F. of L., the Brotherhoods, the restive rank and file of the Americans for Democratic Action, and many millions of untagged, unhappy citizens who resist his third party but have no stomach at all for four more years of Harry Truman. Such a chance will not come his way again.

Must It Be Truman?

BY DALE KRAMER

Washington, March 4

THOSE tremors recorded on the political seismographs are Democrats asking each other: Will President Truman step aside and let the nomination go to a man with brighter prospects of victory? Two weeks ago the catastrophe date for Mr. Truman was set for November 9. Now a growing school of opinion holds that his descent into political limbo may occur in Philadelphia in July. Such speculation, at first confined to dreamy theorists, is being discussed with increasing openness in Congressional Democratic circles, among former New Deal leaders, in the C. I. O., and, most telling, among local party bosses with probable strength at the convention.

The shift in Democratic thinking from "We're stuck with Harry" to "Why be stuck with Harry?" appears from off-the-record talks on Capitol Hill and elsewhere to stem from three fundamental sources—personal irritation with the President, political desperation, and the dispassionate conviction that Mr. Truman is simply not equipped to deal with the monumental problems of the times. When asked to explain the deterioration in the President's relations with Congress, the average Democratic member is apt to roll his eyes heavenward, sag, and exhale loudly. "Mr. Truman, being a law-abiding man, sends messages to Congress promptly, as the system requires," one member told me, "but otherwise he forgets all about us." The astonishing fact is that neither of the minority leaders—Barkley of the Senate and Rayburn of the House—has been called to the White House since the present session of Congress was convened. Neither do Presidential emissaries pound the doors of Congressional offices, as they did in the days of Roosevelt. Party caucuses are rare, and strictly New Deal caucuses even rarer. Many Congressmen are convinced that the so-called Southern revolt could have been avoided, or at least effectively muffled, if Truman had bothered to consult a few of the more responsible Southern leaders in advance.

DALE KRAMER used to be active in practical politics in Minnesota. He is now a free-lance political writer contributing to various magazines.

Until the Wallace victory in New York's Twenty-fourth District last month, the fears and irritations of Democratic Congressmen could still be assuaged by consulting the public-opinion polls. The people seemed to like plain Harry in spite of everything. But the Bronx vote was a severe jolt, and quick soundings of other constituencies were equally disturbing. Liberal incumbents took no comfort from the Wallace argument that his candidacy would help them by getting out a big vote. Even if the threat to file third-party candidates is not carried out, the recrimination certain to come from both sides will seriously embarrass and may defeat the Congressmen caught in the middle. Some of the best members may not seek reelection. In the resulting discontent Truman has had to take much of the blame. Bitterness is so widespread, in fact, that practically everyone in the House has been chuckling over the cloakroom gibe of Gene Cox, of Georgia, who suggested that Truman's best chance is to talk Wallace into giving him second place on the third-party ticket.

AWAY from Capitol Hill intra-party opinion with respect to the President has undergone a similar curdling. And here, too, the charge is made that Mr. Truman has become too remote, too sealed off by the palace guard. The men around Roosevelt, they say, were glad-handers compared with the dour entourage that hems in Mr. Truman. "We just throw messages over the wall," one high-level politician complained to me, "and hope for a reply." In the circumstances the feeling appears to be warranted that the President is not getting a rounded picture of what is going on in the country. The existence of a palace guard is bothersome in any case, but the picture is downright disheartening when the guard is made up of such third-raters as Snyder, Vaughan, Vardaman, and Steelman.

The "Wallace thing"—the customary designation in Washington for the third-party movement—has frightened the party bosses at least as much as it has upset Democratic members of Congress. And there appears to be little inclination to throw the blame for the Bronx fiasco on Ed Flynn. The boss's task, after all, is to analyze the yearnings of his district and to do his best to match

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his candidates to the demand. And it is generally assumed that the voters of the Bronx Twenty-fourth were choosing between Truman and Wallace rather than between Karl Propper and Leo Isacson. Whether or not it is true that Bosses Lawrence of Pittsburgh, Flynn of the Bronx, Kelly of Chicago, Blalock of Texas, and Hague of New Jersey are this very week discussing the possibility of dropping Harry Truman, there is no doubt that the thought has occurred to them. No one knows better than they what a big Wallace vote would do to their machines.

The reaction against the inevitability of running Truman dates from the Bronx election, but it has been gathering momentum ever since. Strangely enough, it remained for Harold Ickes to consult the almanac and come up with the simple fact that four out of six Vice-Presidents who entered the White House on the death of a President were denied nominations to succeed themselves. The Southern revolt, too, is geared to the increasing awareness that a Truman victory is improbable. Capital observers regard the what-the-hell-Truman's-licked-anyhow attitude as a big factor in the decision of the Southerners to unlimber their heavy guns. They are not worried about Congress. Actually a routing of Northern Democrats on the Hill will serve to increase the seniority of the Southerners against the day when the party returns to power.

To these factors must be added the growing coolness toward Truman of the anti-Wallace liberals and labor unions. Americans for Democratic Action, mistakenly thought to be safe in Truman's pocket, adopted a wait-and-see policy at its national convention last month. And from C. I. O. headquarters comes a strong intimation that Philip Murray has no intention of indorsing Truman or anyone else before the convention.

IF NOT Truman, then who? The whole trend away from the President is still so new—and so tentative—that the subject of alternatives can hardly be said to have been explored. But certain names come almost automatically to mind—Senator Alben Barkley, Chief Justice Fred Vinson, General Marshall, and Associate Justice William O. Douglas.

None of these budding candidacies, however, offers the dramatic possibilities of the ticket that is now the subject of the fondest whispers in Democratic circles—General Eisenhower for President, Justice Douglas for Vice-President. Whether or not there is any truth in it, the favorite story is that when Eisenhower broke the boom for his nomination as a Republican he privately advised the New Hampshire publisher to whom his letter of renunciation was addressed that the Republican Party was too conservative for him. Of course no one expects Eisenhower to give the slightest indication that he would accept the nomination; he could hardly do that in the light of his forceful pronouncement of a few months ago. But the more wishful promoters of the new Eisenhower boom argue that a completely spontaneous draft by the Democratic convention would convince him that in spite of his modest questioning of his qualifications and his sentiments about the role of the military, the American people have called on him to serve.

However baseless these hopes may be, there is no doubt whatever that Eisenhower would solve the Democrats' campaign problems. One has only to talk with those who are most unhappy about Mr. Truman to be convinced of this. Liberal Congressmen are sure that Eisenhower's candidacy would wipe out the Wallace threat completely. It is recalled that talk of Eisenhower for President originated in labor circles two years ago, when the General addressed the C. I. O. at Murray's invitation and was received with overwhelming enthusiasm. Democratic Congressmen are naturally chary of going on record for Eisenhower this early in the game, with Truman still the likeliest nominee, but Representative Sadowski, of Michigan, had no hesitation in airing a view that many believe will spread. Representing a working-class district with strong Wallace sentiment, Sadowski is likely to remain neutral in the campaign if Truman is his party's choice, but he proposes an Eisenhower-Pepper ticket with the air of a man who has found a thousand-dollar bill and is only waiting for a bank cashier to pronounce it good.

Among the Southerners, too, the name of Eisenhower is likely to come up whenever anti-Truman caucuses are held. Representative Tom Murray, a Tennessee follower of Boss Crump, has publicly bracketed Eisenhower and Senator Byrd, the highest honor a Dixie rebel can bestow. It is not that the Southerners have any reason to believe the General would be opposed to Truman's civil-rights program but rather that even such drastic proposals can be accepted—and sidetracked—when they come from a man so otherwise impressive and likely to win, whereas they are only a galling imposition coming from a small man probably doomed to defeat. In any event, Eisenhower is not on record with a civil-rights program and Truman is.

So far there is little obvious interest in Justice Douglas as a candidate, and he is not in a position to stir it up. "He's a serious man and has rumpled hair," as one Congressman puts it, "but, then, so has Wallace." Political circles are interested in the report, apparently well founded, that Douglas is favored by publisher Henry Luce, one of the chief promoters of the Willkie boom, and by Tommy Corcoran, once a star tactician for the New Deal. It is generally agreed, however, that only a draft—and a good chance for victory—would bring Douglas off the bench. And Eisenhower will have to write another and stronger letter before a draft of Douglas is likely.

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While not many Democratic leaders are whole-heartedly *for* Mr. Truman, a few believe he can still win if he breaks through the palace guard and takes some realistic advice. They profess to be unworried by the present low ebb of his popularity and suggest that the pendulum will swing his way again when he is actually matched against Wallace and the G. O. P. candidate. Nevertheless, the search for an alternative is now on in deadly earnest—and in some quarters it is beginning to take on slightly frantic overtones.

The British Pay the Piper

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, February 28

THE music goes round and round: at home, unrelieved dollar shortage, the unanswered question whether prices and wages can be frozen, the unsolved problem of insuring future procurement of imported foodstuffs and raw materials; abroad, the continuing cold war between East and West, bomb outrages in Jerusalem, the collapse of Western-type democracy in Prague, Lion-baiting in the Falkland Islands and British Honduras, scant signs of progress in the three-power talks on Germany and the four-power talks on Austria. The British public, faced by departmental estimates which give a fair preview of the coming budget, is painfully conscious that it is paying a heavy bill for the piper, and it is not at all sure that it likes the tune.

The political choreography on the domestic stage has changed very little during February. "The specter of starvation and mass-unemployment is now alarmingly close," was the comment of the *Economist,* a journal not in the habit of sensation-mongering, on the White Paper published by the Treasury in explanation of the sterling area's loss of four billion dollars of reserves in 1947. The man in the street and, more importantly, the man at the factory bench are beginning to take serious notice of these grim warnings; they realize that unless the United States helps to finance an extension beyond March of the Anglo-Canadian trade agreement, something is going to happen to the bread ration. But national bankruptcy—and nothing less than that is signified by the balance of foreign payments—is a difficult thing for the plain man to comprehend; and the probably inevitable process of belt-tightening is being impeded by the government's failure to make it clear that both economizing in foreign exchange and cutting down personal spending are necessary. There are no signs that the trade unions will respond to the suggestion that nominal wages should be frozen. Apart from the fact that food prices are expected to continue to rise —the price-fixing orders touch only the fringe of marginally needed consumers' goods—the trade-union rank and file, whatever the T. U. C. General Council may say, have yet to be persuaded that profits will be cut and that a wage freeze does not mean shifting the burden of Sir Stafford Cripps's export drive to the shoulders of the workers.

Massive wage claims by engineers, railwaymen, road-transport workers, and others are going forward; and it is doubtful that they will be halted by the conference of trade-union executives to be held in March. "Squeeze profits and prices first" is the general feeling. One foresees stalemate on the prices-wages front until after the budget is passed. No one expects much to come of the government's invitation to big business to produce a voluntary scheme for a roll-back of prices, profits, and dividends; and the crucial question is whether the Chancellor will use the weapon of taxation against the bourgeoisie in order to make a workers' holiday.

THE mass-circulation newspapers have depicted the results of the political crisis in Czechoslovakia as the first step in the "Communist offensive" against the West. Even the sober Manchester *Guardian,* deploring Czechoslovakia's "second enslavement," commented harshly that Gottwald was "as crude a tool as Henlein." The general inference drawn by the press has been that the need for a solid Western bloc is more emphatic than ever. Such sampling, however, of working-class opinion as I have been able to undertake suggests that Fleet Street's alarm over events in Prague by no means reflects mass opinion. But though there is fairly wide feeling in Labor circles that the concentration of power in Communist hands was probably inevitable, there is no disposition to pretend that the new set-up preserves more than a semblance of the sort of democracy acceptable in Britain; and it is sadly admitted that the "Third Force" idea has suffered a brusque defeat.

But the trend in Europe, with attention now anxiously turned to Italy, is by no means the only disquieting factor. There is the appalling problem of Palestine. As seen from here, the American State Department, taking refuge in legal technicalities, has in effect written off the partition plan. This may suit Mr. Bevin, who has consistently hoped that the force of events would enable

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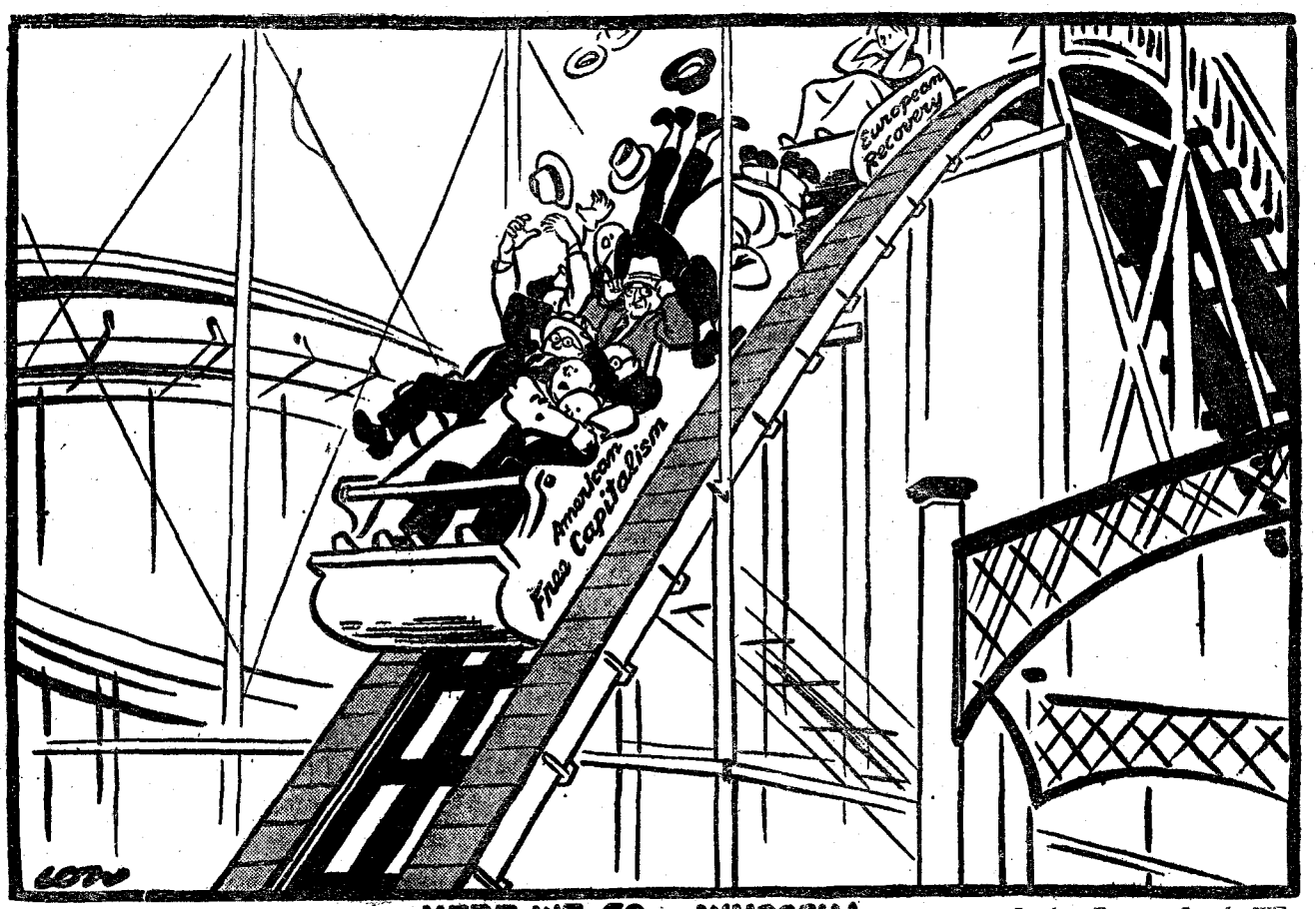
him to impose on the Jewish Agency minority status, with strictly limited immigration, in a federal Arab state. It may equally suit the strategic ideas of the British chiefs of staff. But the question which preoccupies most British men and women at present is whether all this means that the Mandate is not to be surrendered, and that British soldiers and policemen are to go on dying in a crescendo of Palestinian violence from which Britain will derive neither economic advantage nor moral credit. And as if this were not enough, the jingo press is insisting that the impertinence of the Argentinians and Guatemalans means that the British Lion, cost what it may, must sharpen his claws!

Told in the same breath that "Britain must be strong" —Lord Beaverbrook's latest slogan—and that Britain's earnings from foreign trade are insufficient to guarantee even the present meager rations, the bewildered elector studies the 1948-49 estimates, which add up to another twelve-billion-dollar budget. He observes that the figure for defense is still a monstrous burden. In money the bill is down from $3,600,000,000 to $2,800,000,000, but in March, 1949, more than 700,000 men will still be under arms and nearly 600,000 civilians still allocated, in administration and munition works, to the military machine. This is a heavy drain on Britain's severely taxed resources, and no official reply has been vouchsafed to two sensational charges made in recent issues of the *New Statesman and Nation*. The first was that in the White Paper on the Balance of Payments the government, by deceptive financial legerdemain, had seriously understated the cost in foreign currency of its military and political commitments abroad, which last year amounted, not as stated to $800,000,000, but to more than $1,300,000,000. The second was that the army, which absorbs the bulk of this unproductive man-power, is so scattered in far-flung detachments, with an immense administrative "tail," that its utility for national defense is negligible; it consists, it is alleged, of only two infantry divisions, one armored brigade, and one parachute brigade operationally organized.

Two conclusions emerge. One is that, despite the staggering military burden it is now carrying, Britain is in no position to fight a major war; its forces might suffice to give pause to Guatemala but not, in any area, to the U. S. S. R. The other is that, if even the present scale of Britain's military commitments abroad is to be maintained, the cost will, in effect, be a first charge on Britain's share of E. R. P. Drawing these inescapable inferences, the British elector is scratching his head in puzzlement. And that goes not only for the leftist brigade under the red standard of Harry Pollitt and the "assimilated" flag of Konni Zilliacus; it applies, too, to the great body of trade unionists on whose support the stability of the government in the last resort depends.



HERE WE GO — WHOOSH!

London *Express*—Canada Wide

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Veterans Unite for Housing

BY GEORGE A. BERNSTEIN

Washington, March 4

TIRED of Congressional inaction on what is still the nation's worst disgrace, the housing shortage, some fourteen hundred veterans descended upon Washington on Sunday, February 29, to press for the enactment of the long dormant Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. These veterans were the officially elected representatives of hundreds of thousands of others in hundreds of local posts and chapters of every major veterans' organization in the country. Even the American Legion and American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS), which failed to indorse the T-E-W bill at their national conventions, were represented by delegates from a number of local posts that oppose the anti-public-housing stand of their national administrations.

The two-day conference attracted more than passing attention from Congress. A large number of legislators came to its orderly and well-managed sessions. Senators Ellender and Taft both reiterated their unqualified support of public housing, the latter in spite of predictions in the *Vet-Letter* put out by the *Army Times* that he would express willingness to accept a substitute, presumably the McCarthy bill, for the measure of which he is coauthor. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) spoke on his newly introduced bill, which incorporates much of the earlier measure but completely eliminates its public-housing provisions. The delegates gave audible evidence of their disapproval. Four other Senators, eleven Representatives, and Housing Administrator Raymond Foley also addressed the conference; letters were read from President Truman and General Eisenhower affirming their complete support of the T-E-W bill.

Representative Jesse P. Wolcott (R., Mich.), who for two years has been exercising what amounts to a one-man veto of the T-E-W bill in the House Banking and Currency Committee, was roundly condemned by almost everyone present as the most formidable enemy of decent housing. Aware of the romantic ties between Wolcott and the real-estate interests, the delegates buttonholed Congressmen on the second day of the conference for their signatures on "House Petition Number 5," which is designed to get the bill read on the floor of the House without the previous consent of Wolcott's committee. The petition already bore 52 signatures out of a required 218, and the delegates obtained commitments for some 60 more, no small feat considering that the petition has been on the Speaker's desk for almost four months.

The work was done quietly and efficiently. The group which saw Mrs. Katharine St. George (R., N. Y.), the present occupant of Hamilton Fish's old seat, was composed of women veterans and veterans' wives. Its spokesman was from Mrs. St. George's home county, Orange. She discussed with Mrs. St. George the disruption of American home life by the housing shortage, and clinched the argument by pointing out how public housing would attract more workers into the Twenty-ninth Congressional District and thus help the development of its industry. Mrs. St. George promised to sign the petition and authorized the delegation to say so publicly.

Before this conference the T-E-W bill had been declared "dead as the dodo" by forecasters on the Hill. They still see slight chance of its enactment, but they admit that the conference injected a little life. Actually, it accomplished much more than that. For the first time since the end of the war most of the veterans' organizations united to work for a specific objective affecting all veterans, thus setting a hopeful pattern for future cooperation. The conference was conceived at the last national convention of the American Veterans' Committee. Having wisely decided to try to involve all veterans' organizations in a common fight for housing, the A. V. C. leaders obtained the consent of prominent members of other organizations to call the conference in their names. The sponsoring group, therefore, included only Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., from A. V. C. Others were Representative John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.) of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Representative Jacob K. Javits (R., N. Y.) of the Jewish War Veterans, and Robert F. Wagner, Jr., of the Catholic War Veterans.

Before the conference opened, the sponsors were somewhat apprehensive of what might happen. The usually conservative members of the V. F. W. were afraid that the far from conservative A. V. C., which had much the largest delegation, would dominate the proceedings. The A. V. C. leaders were worried that some of their exuberant members might wreck the conference by trying to force mass-action techniques on a group which obviously was not meeting for such a purpose, and at the same time they feared that the other groups, through their very caution, would frustrate any real action for housing. All these fears proved unfounded. A few heated arguments on the floor of the conference were kept under control

GEORGE A. BERNSTEIN, Political Education Director of the Millinery Union, A. F. of L., is active in the A. V. C. and was first A. V. C. chairman of New York County.

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by the superb chairmanship of Representative Javits. The energy of the more "action-minded" delegates was channeled into visits to various Congressmen and party leaders. An impressive march to Arlington Cemetery, with a short ceremony before the tomb of the unknown soldier, symbolized the unity of all veterans. Representatives of the Catholic and Jewish War Veterans almost always stood together during the visits to Congressmen and in some instances jointly led the delegations—a sign of unanimity which could hardly have been missed by anyone.

Monopoly at Alaska's Throat

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Seattle, March 2

MONOPOLIES are now an announced target of the Administration. One of the worst should be easy to hit in a fatal spot. This is the Alaskan shipping monopoly, which drains the Territory's pioneer economy by levying the highest ocean freight rates charged by any ships under the American flag. Of all monopolies it is the most vulnerable to Administration attack because it operates under the approval and protection of the Federal Maritime Commission. Indeed, the commission could end it tomorrow—and a majority on the commission are President Truman's appointees. If the Administration wants to do something about monopoly, the tight little monopoly which dominates Alaskan shipping to the detriment of Alaska is the place to begin.

Living costs in Alaska are from 38 to 116 per cent higher than in the United States, according to the distance from Seattle. Freight rates are behind these sky-high inflationary prices. It costs $26 to ship a ton of fresh vegetables the fourteen hundred miles from Seattle to the Alaskan port of Cordova; the rate from San Juan to New York City, an equal distance, is $10.80.

The benefits from these exorbitant Alaskan rates are confined virtually to one Seattle family. In 1946 Congress authorized a lavish North Pacific shipping subsidy: government vessels could be rented for $1 a year, with free hull insurance included. The Maritime Commission then decided that Gilbert W. Skinner was to be the principal beneficiary of this federal largess. Three companies were chosen to receive the subsidy—Alaska Steamship Company, Northland Transportation Company, and Alaska Transportation Company, all based in Seattle. Skinner, Seattle's leading salmon broker, is president of Alaska Steam, and he and his son control two-thirds of Northland Transportation. Alaska Steam and Northland were to operate twenty-one boats, Alaska Transportation four. Only Alaska Steam was authorized to call at the main Alaskan ports of Seward and Whittier, where all freight for the vast interior is discharged.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, an Oregon journalist, recently returned from a long visit to Alaska.

Many generations of Americans have dreamed of the development of Alaska. In the last speech he ever delivered standing on his feet Franklin D. Roosevelt, from the bridge of a destroyer, prophesied the opening of a "new land of opportunity in the north." Instead, Alaska has been garroted in a collar of high freight rates fitted by this one-family shipping monopoly—a monopoly established with the connivance of the United States government.

Only Alaska Steam can put in at Kodiak Island. Residents of Kodiak pay $27 a ton to get washing machines, radios, and fresh meat transported from Seattle, though Mr. Skinner's friends in the salmon industry can send their product to Seattle for only $12. "High transportation rates are responsible, more than any other one factor," declares George Sundborg, manager of the Alaskan Development Board, "for the economic backwardness of Alaska and for a cost-of-living level so high as to discourage settlement and make colonization impossible."

A THIRTY-THREE-YEAR-OLD veteran of Grenfell's Labrador expeditions named Phil Briggs thought he had the answer. He would take cargo out of the British Columbia seaport of Prince Rupert, 700 miles north of Seattle. During the war, when Japanese troops crouched in the Aleutians, the American army developed Prince Rupert as its chief Alaskan supply base. Briggs would haul an automobile from Prince Rupert to Petersburg for approximately half the toll from Seattle.

Clearly this was a threat to Skinner's supremacy in Alaskan waters, and the Maritime Commission sprang to his aid. Although Congress had made the North Pacific subsidy available to any American-flag line, and Briggs was operating under the Stars and Stripes, the Maritime Commission barely acknowledged his letter requesting participation in the subsidy. This meant that Briggs would have to buy his own boats and carry his own hull insurance—and compete against companies getting both items out of the United States treasury. Small wonder that since the Briggs episode the President's professions of sympathy for small business are greeted somewhat cynically in Alaska.

Canadian vessels operating out of Prince Rupert

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might crack the Skinner monopoly except for one fact. A clause in the Maritime Act denies Alaskans the right to use Canadian ships for freight or passenger service between Prince Rupert and Alaska. Since American ports on the Great Lakes and the Atlantic are free to use Canadian shipping, this is direct discrimination against Alaska, and Senator Butler of Nebraska and Delegate Bartlett of Alaska have introduced legislation to end it. The Maritime Commission has advised against passage of the Butler-Bartlett bill. This advice was done up in the familiar patriotic wrappings: the American merchant marine must not be imperiled. Although Canadian boats seem to constitute a threat to American interests, the Maritime Commission says nothing about Gilbert W. Skinner's operation of the yacht Corsair under the flag of Panama as a luxury cruise vessel.

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that if Alaska were a state, the law denying its people the use of Canadian ships would be unconstitutional. Only a territory may be thus discriminated against. This may explain why Seattle business interests favor statehood for Hawaii but not for Alaska. Even the state of Washington's leading Democrats, Senator Magnuson and Governor Wallgren, oppose statehood, unwilling to help Alaska wrest itself loose from the clutch of Seattle shipping companies.

With the collaboration of the Maritime Commission, Skinner and his associates juggle rates to fit their own convenience. Not long ago Alaska Steam reduced by 75 per cent the freight on insulating cork. The Alaska Development Board contends this was done primarily because Skinner and his partners are constructing a cold-storage plant on the Alaskan Peninsula. On the same day that it lowered the rate on cork, Alaska Steam hoisted the freight on flour to Fairbanks from $2.33 a hundredweight to $3.81. Fairbanks housewives, when they buy bread, are subsidizing Skinner's cold-storage plant.

During the war Alaskans noted that the many Congressional committees which visited the Territory, if they came by sea, almost invariably traveled on Canadian boats because they furnished better service, food, and accommodations than the American boats. Congress and the Maritime Commission have teamed up to deny these amenities to the people of Alaska. "Federal law keeps out Canadian competition," says Governor Ernest Gruening. "By restricting the subsidy, the Maritime Commission keeps out United States competition. Alaska is left to the mercy of the Seattle companies, which really means Gilbert W. Skinner and his enterprises."

American voters should know how an agency of their government helps to keep Alaska a wilderness. A cannery at Kodiak pays $10 a ton in freight tolls on wire to repair its salmon traps. A homesteader on the same island pays $17 freight on a ton of wire to string a fence. The average Alaskan family must spend approximately $450 a year in ocean freight on its food alone.

A group of ex-G. I.'s hopefully founded a cooperative colony at Chilkoot Barracks, Alaska's oldest military post. They were acclaimed in many periodicals as twentieth-century pioneers. They planned to establish a shipping service between Juneau, the Alaskan capital, and Haines, a port leading to the famous Alcan Highway. Today the colony is falling apart. Its thirty-year-old founder, Steve Larsson Homer, is night clerk in a dingy hotel in Portland, Oregon. "We had a natural transportation route to the Alaskan interior," he said. "But the lumber companies wouldn't give us a contract to transport their products. They said they were afraid Alaska Steam would learn of it and refuse to serve them. They said they were at the mercy of Alaska Steam."

ALASKA STEAM fares well with the generous federal subsidy. During a four-month period its revenue was $5,400,000 and its operating expenses $3,700,000. As long as the Maritime Commission refuses to honor subsidy requests from American companies based at Portland or Prince Rupert, Seattle steamship corporations can deal with Alaska as cavalierly as they wish. Rates are hiked summarily; boat schedules altered overnight.

In 1946 a strike of A. F. of L. checkers shut down the port of Seattle for more than seventy days. Alaskan hospitals ran out of drugs and had no fuel oil on days when it was 50 degrees below zero. Alaskan children had no Christmas toys. The Maritime Commission was quick to hoist anti-labor pennants, forgetting that it was responsible for the lack of alternative shipping routes through Portland and Prince Rupert.

Many devices are employed to keep Alaska in the grip of one of the tightest existing monopolies. Statehood would give Alaska two Senators acting in Alaska's interests. Recently a "prominent Alaskan," heading the "Alaska" delegation to a Pacific Northwest Chamber of Commerce conference on Alaskan problems, said the people of the Territory did not really want statehood—in spite of a decisive referendum favoring statehood more than a year ago. The "prominent Alaskan" turned out to be a resident of a fashionable Seattle suburb.

To break the grip of the shipping monopoly on Alaska, only two steps are required: (1) make Canadian ships available for the Alaskan trade; and (2) extend the federal subsidy to companies operating out of Portland and Prince Rupert. The Maritime Commission can recommend the first step to Congress. It can undertake the second step itself. It can also give permission to some operator besides Gilbert W. Skinner to serve the ports on the Gulf of Alaska. So long as the commission supports the shipping oligarchy to which it has delivered over the people of Alaska, it is hard to take at face value the many strictures against monopoly contained in the President's message on the state of the Union.

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The Senator Was Indiscreet

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, March 1

WHILE Senators have been known to write books, it is unusual for one to publish a 255-page volume at his own expense. It is even more unusual when the bulk of the book is given over to a violent attack on individuals and organizations largely responsible for the author's being a Senator. "They Would Rule the Valley" by Senator Sheridan Downey of California is devoted to a defense of the Senator's attempts to scuttle the 160-acre limitation in the Central Valley Project and to the extraordinary thesis that the Bureau of Reclamation seeks "to rule" California's great Central Valley. The book is printed by an unnamed firm in San Francisco, and copies of the trade edition are retailed from the Senator's office in Washington at $5 a copy, but there is said to be a fancy leather-bound edition for which such bibliophiles as Joe Di Giorgio are privileged to pay $25 a copy.

The controversy over the 160-acre limitation as applied to the Central Valley Project has a long and complicated history which has been commented upon in past issues of *The Nation*. Briefly, this limitation, which has been the basic policy of all federal reclamation undertakings since 1902, would require landowners in the area, as a condition to receiving water from the project, to sell or to option to the Bureau of Reclamation all lands in excess of 160 acres in individual ownership—interpreted to mean 320 acres in the ownership of a husband and wife under California's community-property laws. The purpose of the restriction is to prevent speculative profits at the taxpayers' expense—excess lands must be sold at their reasonable value prior to completion of the project—and also to prevent monopolization of benefits conferred by the expenditure of public funds.

Of more immediate interest, however, is the political import of Senator Downey's book. Its publication coincided with a speaking tour in California in the course of which the Senator violently attacked the Bureau of Reclamation and demanded that President Truman force the resignation of Michael W. Straus as commissioner of reclamation and of Richard L. Boke as regional director in California. Not content with this, Senator Downey has also declared war on the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the Grange, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, the Central Valley Project Conference, the Western Cooperative Dairymen's Union, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and sundry other groups. Some of these organizations had a great deal to do with the Senator's election in 1938 and his reelection in 1944. The list of individuals whose good faith he assails and whose competence he derides reads like a "Who's Who" of California liberals and progressives. Included are Colonel James Roosevelt, state chairman of the Democratic Party; Dr. Paul S. Taylor of the University of California, outstanding authority on agricultural labor and a man who might well be regarded as the conscience of the liberal movement in California; Dr. Walter Goldschmidt, whose recent book, "As You Sow," has been widely praised as a brilliant analysis of industrialized farming; Dr. Marion Clawson, an agricultural economist with a fine record of public service in several federal agencies; and Richard L. Boke, who has waged an uphill fight to preserve the social objectives of the Central Valley Project.

Perhaps the Senator's choice of "heroes" is even more amazing: the Kern County Land Company, which owns 1,369,576 acres in four states, including 250,000 acres within the Central Valley Project; and Joe Di Giorgio, the Sicilian immigrant, who ships 10,000,000 boxes of fruit and 500,000 packages of vegetables each year and has some 10,000 employees.* Both the Kern County Land Company and Di Giorgio—who owns 14,000 choice acres embraced within the project area—stand to make a king's ransom if they can keep their present holdings intact until the project is completed and the new water is available. In the Senator's radiant vision the first of these heroes is described as "the irrelevant cow company" (since it is already making money out of cattle and oil, the Senator argues that it would not be interested in making money out of farming or the subdivision of its holdings at fancy prices); the second, as a rugged individualist struggling to prevent "the Great Water Grab" of the Bureau of Reclamation.

During his first term in the Senate Mr. Downey maintained "an open mind" on the acreage-limitation issue, but shortly after his reelection in 1944 his doubts seem suddenly to have vanished. Today he is a strenuous advocate of a measure (S. 912) which would remove the limitation provision entirely from the Central Valley Project and from one project each in Colorado and Texas.

Thanks to the individuals and organizations Senator Downey so recklessly maligns, retention of the acreage limitation in the Central Valley Project has now become a major political issue in California. By breaking with his former supporters and repudiating the leadership of his own party on this issue, the senior Senator from California has taken a position from which he cannot withdraw and which would seem to insure his defeat

* An article by Mr. McWilliams on the current strike of Di Giorgio workers appeared in *The Nation* for February 28.

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in 1950. It is said, however, that the Senator intends to run for governor in 1950 and, for that reason, now seeks to win the support of the powerful large-scale farming interests in California. Having elected to break with his own party on this vital issue, it should be even clearer in 1950 than it is today that in publishing "They Would Rule the Valley" the Senator was indiscreet.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

The Attack on Condon

IN A statement issued two months ago outlining its program for the year the Thomas Committee on Un-American Activities announced that scientists were marked for early attention. It opened its offensive last week with an attack on Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards.

Thomas's interest in science this spring is no coincidence. The terms of all five members of the Atomic Energy Commission expire August 1. This summer, therefore, the enemies of civilian control of atomic energy will have a new opportunity to make mischief. They will undoubtedly try to force replacement of several of the present commissioners with army or navy men, and they may succeed in abolishing the A. E. C. altogether; several bills to this effect have already been introduced in Congress.

Thomas himself is an outspoken advocate of the remilitarization of the atom. As is shown by his omission of favorable material from an FBI report on Condon, he will stop at nothing to discredit civilian scientists and civilian atomic control. Having ridden out the obscene campaign against him a year ago, Chairman Lilienthal is too difficult a target; so the guns are being trained on the Condons instead.

One accusation against Condon is that he appointed himself head of the atomic-physics division of the Bureau of Standards "without having been cleared for secret atomic-energy work." This is like attacking Einstein, if he were the head of a university physics department, for undertaking to lecture on relativity. Condon is a uniquely able nuclear physicist who played a leading role in the atom-bomb project; incidentally, he was cleared at that time for top-secret work. There would have been more reason to investigate him had he chosen to remain aloof from the bureau's atomic research.

But Thomas's intention to discredit Condon has an importance transcending even the issue of civilian control. It seems to me that there is something wrong in a nation which subjects its ablest scholars and officials to investigation by an ignorant fanatic like Thomas and of political police like the F. B. I. Condon is one of the highest officials so far to undergo this treatment. Unless halted, the probe will reach still higher. A bill now before Congress, with the approval of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, would subject not merely atomic-energy workers to FBI examination but even future members of the commission.

As *The Nation* has reported several times in the past, the current investigations have made it extremely difficult for government laboratories to obtain scientists. Important positions have been unfilled for as long as two years, although salaries and other conditions are generally good. The smearing of Condon will double the government's recruiting problem. If Condon should be forced out of the Bureau of Standards, a wave of resignations in the bureau and other government laboratories would follow, wrecking vital government research activities.

Since the loyalty purge began, three or four dozen government scientists have lost their jobs for security reasons. These discharges did not arouse the majority of scientists. But Condon is so prominent professionally that no scientific organization will ignore his persecution. It has already called forth more protests than the cases of all the other scientists combined.

Perhaps it is fortunate that Thomas has chosen to aim his blunderbuss at Condon. For Condon is countering with a demand for Congressional investigation of the smearing of scientists. His courage, combined with his scientific standing and the nature of the attack upon him, may be just what is needed to bring the issue of the Thomas committee to a head.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Seventy-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

MARCH 13, 1873—Our own opinion of General [President] Grant our readers do not need to be told. He has been peculiarly unfortunate in being placed at the head of an Administration which has served as a bridge over the chasm dividing the old from the new in American politics —dividing the period which found its crisis in a . . . war from the period of discussion, of reconstruction, of reorganization in which we find ourselves. He has been unfortunate, too, in having been selected for his work at a time when the Executive had by force of circumstances and accident been reduced to the position of a secondary force in the government, . . . the agent of the party for the time being rather than one of the three theoretical coordinate powers. If Grant had been, as many persons thought he was . . . , a political genius, he would probably have succeeded by this time by slow degrees in elevating himself to the position of a leader in that reform movement in which we have always been told he feels such a deep interest, but which in reality he does not understand. . . . However during the next four years he may offend the public, he at least will obtain at the end of his term that retirement and freedom from responsibility for which, as he quite pathetically says in his inaugural address, he so much longs.

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Del Vayo—A Year of the Truman Doctrine

Paris, March 1

ON MARCH 12 a year ago the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed. I was in Paris at the time, and the next day went to the Quai d'Orsay for a visa. Officials there were deeply perplexed: the declaration might have made sense fifteen days earlier or later, but they could not understand what had prompted American diplomacy to explode it right in the middle of the Foreign Ministers' Conference then in session at Moscow. Now a year has elapsed, and it seems to me time to draw up a brief balance sheet as seen from Europe. I shall try to let the facts speak for themselves.

What was the situation in Europe on the eve of President Truman's speech, and what is it today?

In March, 1947, the most striking feature of European politics—leaving aside Great Britain and some countries in the Soviet sphere where one-party regimes were in power—was the emergence of the coalition government. One element in the coalition was the Communist Party, whose participation in the various Cabinets then seemed logical, even inevitable. Unquestionably the Communists took advantage of their role to strengthen the party's position, but no one familiar with their thinking and tactics could have expected anything else. On the other hand, there is no reason to question their acceptance a year ago of the principle of coalition. Later that month, in Rome, I recall Palmiro Togliatti's efforts to reassure De Gasperi, who, discouraged by the Italian economic situation, was ready to throw up the sponge and quit. I remember, too, the almost daily attacks on the Communists in the French Trotskyite and Anarchist press of the period, charging that they were more a "government party" than the Socialists.

The fact is, the coalition governments worked fairly well, in spite of areas of friction, and produced a kind of domestic political equilibrium. In France the coalition under Ramadier forced General de Gaulle into discreet retirement at Colombey, to the disappointment of his rightist friends. On the economic front production rose steadily, and differences between labor and management which a year later were to cost France three million tons of coal were resolved by arbitration. Everyone realized that American aid was necessary, and everyone hoped it would be forthcoming—not as an instrument of division but as a help for Europe's war-scarred economies.

I am no prophet, and besides it is foolish to speculate now on how long these coalitions might have lasted if the Truman Doctrine had not been proclaimed. A year—two years—longer? I do not know. But this much is certain: the continued presence and cooperation of the Resistance parties in the governments for even an added month or year would have represented a gain.

Today the method of coalition has given way to one of war between the parties. Production is plummeting under the pressure of strikes and threats of strikes. A general malaise prevails in France; the liberal Catholic review, *Esprit,* has devoted several issues to a searching analysis of the apathy which has crept over the French in the last twelve months. Despite Léon Blum's efforts, the Third Force has not taken root. Its failure was symbolized by the elections at Versailles last Sunday to fill a vacancy in the General Council: in order to defeat the Communist candidate, who had led the field on the first ballot, the unsuccessful Socialist and M. R. P. candidates withdrew and thus made possible a Gaullist victory. Even violently anti-Communist papers find it strange that the two parties which have assumed the responsibilities of government and seek to rally majority support in the country should have given up the fight, in recent tests, and left the field to the blocs they pretend to oppose. In the last vote of confidence the Schuman government, described by Blum as a government of the Third Force, saw its majority whittled down to twenty-three votes. Night-club entertainers are singing caustic little songs about the "Third Weakness."

Italy presents a somewhat different picture. The recent victory of the new Popular Front in elections held in the little Adriatic village of Pesaro created a veritable panic in government circles and caused a drop on the Italian stock market. Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, has come to the aid of the government by threatening to excommunicate any Catholics who vote Communist in the April 18 elections, thus breaking the electoral truce agreed upon by all parties and precipitating a new conflict between the left and the Vatican.

In terms of political realities the Truman Doctrine would have been justified perhaps if the drive to stop Russia and the advance of communism had resulted in substituting Third Force governments for the coalition regimes. Actually the only "force" it has strengthened is that of reaction. There lies the main weakness of the American program: in order to combat totalitarianism on the ideological terrain the United States ought to have begun by taking a stand against dictatorships in Spain and Greece, instead of supporting them—one covertly, the other with money and guns.

The balance sheet in Central and Eastern Europe is little more encouraging for the Western bloc. French observers are terrified by the progress of Russian propaganda in Germany. Alain Clément, correspondent of the conservative *Monde,* cabled from Frankfort the other day: "At least Russian propaganda is more coherent than the American. It knows, for example, that the Frankfort 'reforms' so widely discussed abroad have left the Germans indifferent, if not more suspicious and defiant of the Americans." The invariable result of the drive to stop communism is demonstrated by the overturn in Czechoslovakia. If the Truman Doctrine had never been proclaimed, it is quite possible that the Czech crisis could have been averted. Or if it had taken place, Benes would have been in a better position to arbitrate between the two extremes.

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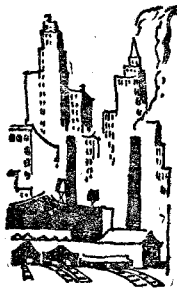

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

"Sembra el Petroleo"

ON FEBRUARY 15 Romulo Gallegos, sixty-three-year-old novelist and educator, was inaugurated as President of Venezuela. Just two months earlier he had been elected by a huge majority over conservative and Communist opponents. It was the first popular presidential election the country had ever known—all previous heads of the state had either seized power or been chosen by a Congress elected on a very limited franchise—and American newspapermen reporting the contest agreed that the balloting was orderly, secret, and uncoerced.

The victory of Señor Gallegos and his party, Acción Democrática, which captured a substantial majority in both houses of Congress, seems to have put the stamp of public approval on the moderate leftist policies which the Venezuelan government has been pursuing in the past two years. It was in October, 1945, that an almost bloodless coup brought to power the revolutionary junta headed by Romulo Betancourt, who became provisional President. From the first Señor Betancourt insisted that his group was not aiming at a new dictatorship—Venezuela has had its fill of dictators—but intended to reestablish constitutional government as soon as possible. This pledge has been kept: the country has had a political "New Deal" and is about to embark on an economic "New Deal" built on foundations laid down by the Betancourt administration.

Venezuela is a potentially wealthy country which is suffering from a badly unbalanced economy. American and British companies have invested hundreds of millions in its vast oil fields, and today it is the third largest producer of petroleum in the world. But extractive industries, as so many "colonial" countries have learned, contribute little to national prosperity unless they are linked to rounded economic development. In Venezuela the foreign oil companies have been intent on getting as much crude oil out of the country as possible, and only now have two of the largest of them started to build refineries on the spot. They have invested some of their profits in exploration, well-sinking, pipe lines, and so forth, but the greater part has left the country for good.

In effect, Venezuela's one important "cash crop," its one possible source of capital, has not been available for the development of its other resources. As a result, while there are vast areas of arable land, it has been necessary to import something like 40 per cent of the food consumed in the country. Wages in the oil fields have been relatively good, but the cost of living has been high and the general standard of the people low.

Of course, the oil companies have always paid royalties to the Venezuelan government, but hitherto the people have not benefited. The dictator Gomez, who ruled for more than twenty-five years before he was thrown out in 1936, squandered the money received and spent little or nothing on improvements in the national economy. His immediate successors were not much better. The Betancourt government, however, inaugurated a new policy: it demanded a larger share of the oil profits and began to make a definite assignment of the revenues received to a broad program of economic development.

This program, which the Gallegos administration inherits, is known as *sembra el petróleo*—"sowing the petroleum." The government has disclaimed any intention of expropriating the oil industry, but it insists on a partnership which will secure to the state a full economic rent for the oil concessions. Partly in royalties and partly in taxes, it is now receiving approximately a fifty-fifty division of profits with the companies, which in these days of high oil prices means it will be able to plow back very large sums into the improvement of agriculture, industry, and communications. A useful account of the plans being developed to this end is included in a recent publication of the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs.*

Two special agencies were created in 1936 to carry on the work: first, a non-political National Economic Council, whose functions are to study economic problems and to initiate and coordinate programs; second, the Venezuelan Development Corporation, an executive body. The corporation has a capital of $43,000,000 and will be assigned an annual allocation from the federal budget. It is authorized to grant credit to private corporations and to subscribe to their shares, or it may set up its own subsidiary organizations to undertake projects unattractive to private enterprise. It is also charged with the formulation of a flexible General Production Development Plan, which has yet to be completed. Meanwhile it is actively engaged in carrying out schemes of a short-term character, with particular emphasis on increasing food production. It has, for instance, provided a credit of 6,000,000 bolivars (about $1,800,000) to a foreign corporation which is erecting a sugar mill at a cost of 14,000,000 bolivars. It is installing twelve grain elevators, the start of a country-wide network, and it has contracted for the purchase of 750 marine motors to be sold on credit to fishermen. On the industrial side the corporation is studying the country's large water-power resources and building a 15,000-kilowatt plant near the industrial city of Maracay.

The foreign oil companies are, understandably, something less than enthusiastic about being forced to supply the "seed corn" for the Venezuelan economy. On the other hand, their net profits continue to mount, and in the long run they stand to gain from a general improvement in the country's economic position. As W. J. Jablonski, petroleum specialist of the *Journal of Commerce*, reported in a recent dispatch from Venezuela: "There is little doubt in oil circles here that this new economic partnership has greatly stabilized the position of foreign oil companies in Venezuela. By repeatedly stressing to the Venezuelan people the benefits they are deriving from the new partnership with the oil companies . . . the government is doing more to improve the oil industry's public relations in Venezuela than the industry could ever do itself."

* "Economic Development in Selected Countries: Plans, Programs, and Agencies." Distributed by the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press. $3.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

WHO that sees the meanness of our politics," Emerson wrote a century ago, "but inly congratulates Washington that he is long already wrapped in his shroud, and forever safe; that he was laid sweet in his grave, the hope of humanity not yet subjugated in him?"

American intellectuals periodically feel this disgust with the sordidness of politics—the sick conviction that the public good and the national welfare have lost out irreparably to personal ambition and private interest. In placid times this conviction has driven intellectuals out of politics altogether. In times of anxiety, when history can no longer be escaped, some intellectuals are prepared to repudiate politics—to trade the shuffling and pettiness of what William Z. Foster calls the "ridiculous talkfests" of democracy for the grandeur of monolithic action.

In this respect, at least, the fascist and Communist appeals are not dissimilar. Certainly the nostalgia for heroism, the dream of drastic action sweeping away the rottenness of the old order and setting society on brave new foundations, creates complex and powerful satisfactions for people strong in idealism, fascinated with power, and essentially bored with the techniques of democracy. The Titos do get things done: even devoted admirers of democracy may have contrasted Truman's weak tolerance of Senator Taft, not to mention Representative Taber, with Premier Dimitrov's forthright statement that the Socialists had better stop criticizing his budget or they would suffer the fate of Petkov. The "revolutions" of Eastern Europe, with their adornments of expropriation and terror, are probably more "heroic"—at least in the Wagnerian sense—than the evasions and compromises of the Socialist government in Britain.

This is the second of a series of essays on American culture. The third, by Jacques Barzun, will appear in the issue of March 27.

It is true that some of the heroic qualities vanish on close examination. The U. S. S. R., for example, does not seem so much to have expelled as to have perverted politics. One of the wisest observers of modern Russia has remarked that politics in the Soviet Union is like homosexuality in a boys' school: many practice it, but no one likes to be caught at it. The few glimpses we have had into these sweaty and superheated transactions suggest that there are certain values in the normal outlets supplied by democracy.

Yet we cannot gainsay the Communist success in getting things done. The question here is the price we are willing to pay for drastic achievement. We must face the fact that democracies tend not to do things drastically, at least until they see the whites of the enemy's eyes. If we mean democracy, in other words, we must mean the process of party politics, with its evasions and compromises, its vulgarities and occasional corruptions. Just as Colonel McCormick is the price of a free press, so Boss Crump and Gerald L. K. Smith, Clare Hoffman, Harry Vaughan, and Hugh De Lacy are the price of political freedom. If, in short, we prize diversity of opinion, tolerance, and compromise, we cannot eat them too.

I must write this article out of a belief in diversity, tolerance, and compromise. It would be foolish, therefore, to begin by denouncing American politics for suffering conditions—Smith, Vaughan, De Lacy—that could be eliminated only at the expense of these fundamental values. Yet it seems equally clear that within the basic framework the United States can and must achieve a wiser and more responsible politics. If we do not wish to change the rules of the game, we can certainly raise the moral level of our political life.

THE PHRASE political culture presumably refers to the character of political expression and action. A mature political culture implies a respect for facts, an absence of myth, a resistance to hysteria, a sense of the past and a sense of the future. These qualities are doubtless hard to come by in a time of transition like our own. Yet even our historical predicament hardly excuses the indifference to facts, the prevalence of myths, the susceptibility to hysteria, the distortions of the past, and the perversions of the future which characterize so much of our political thinking, both on the right and on the left.

An important factor determining the current level of our political culture is surely the lack of a party of responsible conservatism. At its best, the Federalist Party of Washington, Hamilton, and Adams did have a genuine sense of national welfare and a capacity to think in terms other than immediate class interest. But since the disappearance of Federalism American conservatives have been characteristically concerned with quick, short-term advantages for themselves and not with the interests of the nation or the welfare of society. A recurrent casualty of the American political culture has been the conservative with high ideals of social responsibility trapped in a plutocratic and shortsighted party. Many of these casualties have borne the name Adams; in our own day they have borne names like Charles Evans Hughes, Henry L. Stimson, Wendell Willkie.

A glance at the history of Britain shows the value of a responsible conservatism. The capacity of the right to concur in necessary change is an important source of British stability. British Tories and business men, for example, have taken socialism much less hard than the bulk of Republicans took the New Deal. Our right wing tends to go into agonies of terrified anticipation over the most trivial proposals: in the busi-

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ness community there are always a stated number of days to save the American way of life. The consequence has been to introduce a recurring source of instability into American politics—the inescapable period, like 1834 or 1936, when conservative resistance to change reaches a point of hysteria that seems ridiculous even to themselves a few years later.

Theodore Roosevelt restored vigor and a sense of responsibility to the Republican Party. Yet apart from the maverick Morse-Aiken-Tobey group and the ever-surprising New York *Herald Tribune,* the Roosevelt-Stimson-Hughes tradition survives today only in the less robust versions expounded by Senator Vandenberg, John Foster Dulles, the younger Lodge, and a few others. These are all serious men who have contributed usefully to raising the level of Republican politics. But it does not seem likely that the enlightened few will get very far in the evangelical atmosphere of Republican fundamentalism—an atmosphere which makes Senator Taft, a rational and agreeable man in private, carry on like Senator Wherry when performing in public.

Responsible conservatism, indeed, has tended somewhat to turn to the Democratic Party in recent years. A minority of business men who saw the inevitability of the New Deal and welcomed many of its reforms were invited by Roosevelt to collaborate in its administration. Averell Harriman, for example, has been in and out of public service since the NRA. His varied official background, impinging upon a sensitive conscience and subsequently enriched by a profound experience of the contrast between Socialist Britain and Communist Russia, has made him a highly valued public servant. It is characteristic of the atmosphere on the right that Harriman's responsible conservatism should appear in some Republican eyes as a dangerous and moonstruck liberalism. James V. Forrestal, another Roosevelt protégé, similarly represents a sophisticated conservatism, harder and less socially conscious than Harriman's, but infinitely more intelligent than that of the Republicans.

The feebleness of conservative parties in this country has been balanced historically by the energy of the progressive parties. In times of crisis Americans

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have generally found truly national leadership in the ranks of those who believe deeply in freedom and democracy. The New Deal is only the most recent of a number of rescue parties which liberals have launched to save a beleaguered capitalism.

ONE RESULT of this tradition of governmental responsibility has been to introduce a strong practical bent into American liberalism. At its best, our left has provided effective political leadership and effective administrative management; it has twice led the nation victoriously through that most exacting of all tests, twentieth-century war. Yet the very existence of this practical capacity has also tended to split the left between those who regard liberalism as a practical program they might put in action before too long, and those who use liberalism as an outlet for private grievances and frustrations—between the politicians and administrators on the one hand, the sentimentalists and utopians on the other. The New Deal marked the temporary triumph of the doers over the wailers.

Does the progressive idea in 1948 still have its New Deal vitality? In a political sense, clearly not. No liberal regime has ever lasted in this country for more than twelve or fifteen years without weariness and distraction setting in. The normal attrition of democratic politics deflects and distorts the progressive thrust, and our pragmatic traditions always leave progressive leadership uncertain where to go once the immediate crises are met. President Truman appears to have little instinct for liberalism; he knows the words rather than the tune. From one point of view American progressivism badly needs the renewal which would come from an interlude in opposition. It needs to have its batteries recharged.

But the tempo of the post-atomic world leaves no time for lying on the beach. So the left in America is today distraught and divided. The New Dealers and labor leaders are working to inject adrenalin into the Democratic Party. The sentimentalists and utopians have turned to their wailing wall, where they innocently provide a cover for the maneuvers of the Communists.

There are, however, signs of hope. The emergence in the last two years of the conception of the non-Communist left has marked an important advance toward political maturity in the United States. American liberals may not yet identify the Communists and their influence as spontaneously as do leftists in any other country where political freedom still exists. But the fight against the Communists in the C. I. O., the formation of Americans for Democratic Action, the Communist campaign against the Marshall Plan, and now the third party have cleared liberal minds of much confusion. These developments are laying the foundation for a Third Force in America, opposed alike to communism and to business reaction.

The outline of the American political scene is thus not encouraging: a divided right, a weary and distracted center, a divided and only partially resurgent left. In addition to the moral confusion, there are important structural confusions in government. The last few years have uncovered serious defects in our governmental machinery, particularly in the management of foreign affairs; and these defects are concealed more than they are repaired by the device of the "bi-partisan" foreign policy.

WHAT DO AMERICANS want politically? We want peace, employment, freedom, and Mr. Wallace's other Chicago platitudes; but our politicians in general, like Mr. Wallace at Chicago, stumble when they reach the question of how to get what we want. History does not lead us to expect much guidance from the right, though the work of the Committee for Economic Development is a refreshing variation on normal business themes. The hope probably still lies in a revival of the New Deal left.

That revival must be based on a rigorous sense of democratic principle and a sturdy hostility to all enemies of democracy, whether from the right or from the left. It must avoid self-pity and sentimentality and cherish clarity and honesty. It will require, above all, a close and conscientious attention to detail—to the detail of government structure, of fiscal policy, of the national debt, of taxation, of anti-monopoly, of all those other tedious issues so much less dramatic than passing brave resolutions about Franco or Perón, so infinitely more important.

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The left does not have the answers to these questions. It will need the answers, and they will not come in the form of slogans or of platitudes. Americans for Democratic Action has made an admirable start in doing some hard thinking on questions of foreign and domestic policy. But much remains to be done. Liberals must spend less time in a querulous ventilation of sentimentalities and more in devising policies which will take into account the facts of life. In short, it is about time that liberals started doing their home work. If they continue coming to recitation unprepared, their failure may indeed be fatal to our free society.

In one mood Emerson could complain of the meanness of our politics. Yet he was writing about the time of Jackson, which we incline to look back on as an age of heroes. In other moods Emerson himself could see the deeper meaning behind the political strife. "Banks and tariffs, the newspaper and caucus . . . are flat and dull to dull people, but rest on the same foundations of wonder as the town of Troy and the temple of Delphos." We must recapture a sense of the significance of politics, for politics will not do right by us unless we do right by it. It is true in a democracy, above all, that a people gets the government it deserves. We need not feel that the hope of humanity is yet subjugated in us.

Sir Bernard Pares

A WANDERING STUDENT. By Sir Bernard Pares. Syracuse University Press in Collaboration with Howell, Soskin. $4.50.

IT IS characteristic of Sir Bernard Pares, who never carries a watch yet always manages to be on time for a lecture, that he should write what is now essentially his autobiography and fail to tell his readers when he was born. However, time has not been allowed to stagnate in his long life of over eighty years, for with extraordinary singlemindedness he seems to have devoted every hour of it to one purpose —to learn everything there was to learn about Russia and to convey that knowledge to the English-speaking world in many books, articles, and lectures.

With narrative charm Sir Bernard relates the story of his childhood and his years at Harrow and Cambridge. The story has something of the pleasing flavor of Dickens's England, and more than one Dickensian character emerges. A natural-born historian, he was turned loose in the Cambridge classics courses, and he finished the university with a feeling of frustration.

It was shortly after this, in 1898, that Sir Bernard, by what he describes as a kind of instinct, made his first trip to Russia. He at once fell in love with the people, and that affection has remained strong to this day. In repeated trips to Russia he virtually lived the history of that country over the past momentous fifty years. He traveled the length and breadth of Russia, learned the language, studied under one of Russia's greatest historians, Klyuchevsky, was there during the 1905 revolution, went through the experience of the first Duma, spent three years on the Russian front during the First World War, and was on hand for the 1917 revolution, acting for his government in those terrible days. During all these years and in later visits when the Soviet regime had got well under way, he was acquainted with many of the important men who worked out the destiny of their country.

Several other Englishmen had almost parallel experiences, but Sir Bernard was the only one to use his extensive knowledge for educational purposes. He introduced the permanent study of Russian history in England on a university level, first at Liverpool, and then at London University, where he became the director of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies.

With such a fund of knowledge and experience, the stand of Sir Bernard on the question of the Soviet Union's position in international affairs today can hardly fail to have deep interest for all thinking people. In general, his attitude in this book remains the same as that in his other principal works on Russia. At the beginning of his career English feeling toward Russia was a mixture of complete ignorance and unreasoning fear; it was not unlike that of many Americans at the present time, he says, only then "the word to describe it was Russophobia and now it is communism." In the First and Second World Wars, he points out, the Germans made their greatest mistake in allowing Russia to fall into an alliance with the Western democracies. The great question as he sees it is: Will America by its present tactics prevent the Germans from making that mistake again? The geographical factors, he indicates, are all in favor of Russia, and if a resurgent Germany and Russia were united, they would be unbeatable.

Sir Bernard insists that America must face this issue, and that facing it means standing up to Russia, an attitude the

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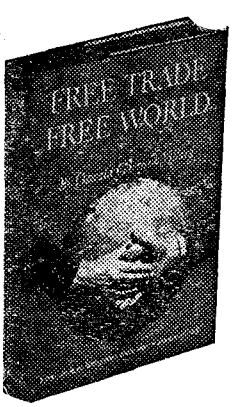

FREE TRADE—FREE WORLD

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—New York Times Book Review

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Russians always respect. On the other hand, he declares that "free enterprise," as it is now interpreted in the United States, has nothing to lean on in present-day Europe, where the contest that is going on is between communism and a Socialist democracy fighting for freedom. ERNEST J. SIMMONS

The Case for Free Trade

FREE TRADE–FREE WORLD. By Oswald Garrison Villard. Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. $3.

IN PRESENTING this timely restatement of the case for free trade Mr. Villard "makes no claim to economic originality." Indeed, it would be difficult to discover any new theoretical angles to a subject that has been continually debated for 150 years. Nevertheless, there is a place for a book which summarizes the arguments for free trade, supports them with up-to-date facts and figures, and reviews the efforts now being made to clear international trade channels of nationalist obstacles.

This is just what Mr. Villard has provided. In vigorous, non-technical language he exposes the vulgar fallacies of protectionism. He shows how tariffs bolster the inefficient and penalize the most efficient industries, how greed for tariff privilege corrupts political life, how trade barriers distort economic development all over the globe and engender international friction. This last and most deadly aspect of protectionism ought to prove the clinching argument for free trade. As Mr. Villard convincingly demonstrates, there can be little hope of a free and peaceful world enjoying steady economic progress until the nations can exchange their goods freely and each can concentrate on those forms of production in which it has a "comparative advantage."

Of course he is right. But how are we to break through the vicious circle in which fear of war leads to a demand for self-sufficiency and thus to trade barriers and the creation of those economic tensions which heighten the dread of war and increase its probability? Patriotism has become the last refuge of the protectionist. In this country the *economic* case for free trade is at last taking hold, but we have the paradoxical fact that the Administration, while making a genuine effort to reduce tariffs, is also building fences around such industries as shipping and synthetic rubber in the name of national security.

That is one major obstacle to the realization of Mr. Villard's ideal. A second is the lack of balance in the world's economy caused by the war, during which American productive capacity rapidly expanded while that of most of its leading trading partners contracted. As a consequence we have the current universal scramble for dollars. Countries like Britain are being forced to restrict imports, not from a wish to protect native industries—they know well the result is a lowered standard of living—but because their means of payment are so limited. Reduction of American tariffs is, of course, one way of correcting this situation. But even if they were abolished out of hand, it is difficult to see how a balanced exchange of goods between the United States and the rest of the world is to be achieved in the early future.

A third obstacle is illustrated by the impasse at Havana, where agreement on the I. T. O. charter is stalled by the insistence of undeveloped countries that they be permitted unlimited freedom to protect "infant industries." It is by this means, they tell our representatives, that the United States grew rich, and they want their chance to prosper. Americans, it seems, not only bamboozled themselves about the benefits of tariffs; they thoroughly bamboozled other nations. Now, when we are ready to repent, we find the bad logic of generations of American tariffists thrown in our teeth. The joke is on us, but it is a joke with tragic implications.

As an antidote the State Department might do worse than order Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and other translations of Mr. Villard's book and see that they are widely distributed. But precept needs to be backed by example. As Mr. Villard points out, the best way for the United States "to lead the world toward economic sanity and tariff moderation" is to lower its own barriers rapidly, whether other nations reciprocate immediately or not. KEITH HUTCHISON

A Great American

ADVERSARY IN THE HOUSE. By Irving Stone. Doubleday and Company. $3.

THERE is a heartening revival of interest in the life of Eugene Victor Debs, the great Socialist leader, who died in 1926 following his imprisonment for opposing our entry into World

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War I. Debs is the hero of John Bartlow Martin's recent sociological study, "Indiana," the hero of a sensitive little piece by S. N. Behrman in, of all places the *New Yorker* of December 6, 1947, and of course the hero of Irving Stone's latest "fictionized biography." In this tragic time, when it seems that liberals, progressives, and Socialists are devoting all their time and energy to warring factional or Communist obsessions, it is refreshing to read again of the life of the long, lean proletarian who with all his great heart hated poverty, ignorance, and exploitation and believed that there could be a brotherhood of man. Debs spent his life answering Emerson's despairing challenge to make "the power of love the basis of a state." To his dying day Debs worked for such a state, and it is significant that now, when all idealism seems dead, so many and such a variety of Americans are evoking the spirit of Debs.

Sentimental, to be sure. As Stone faithfully portrays the man, leaning down from the platform, stretching out his hands, holding in them, as his Hoosier friend James Whitcomb Riley said, "as warm a heart as ever beat betwixt here and the judgment seat," Debs won his host of followers not so much by the appeal to reason as the appeal to the heart.

The author has chosen in his title, and in what I think are the weakest parts of his book, to make Debs's relations with his *Hausfrau* wife, Katherine Metzel Debs, central to his career. Mr. Stone describes these relations as increasingly strained the farther Debs, who did not plump for socialism until he was forty-three years old, moved to the left. The author pictures Katherine as swooning away or locking herself in her room in a temper tantrum every time Debs came home to Terre Haute to announce his participation in some new battle for the under dog. Mr. Stone sets down long, imaginary conversations between man and wife over the fundamentals of trade unionism, socialism, and so on, and then seeks to find the other woman in Debs's life, whom he names Gloria.

This fictionized part of the book enrages old Socialists who knew Debs intimately, and I shudder to think of some of the mail the author must be receiving these days. I can testify to the fact that when the slightest word is written about Debs's married life, which was by the way impeccable, these old-timers spit on their pencils and write furiously. It is undoubtedly true that Debs's preoccupation with the problem of labor, his long absences on organizing trips, his strenuous and by no means lucrative efforts to make brotherhood come true, distressed the conventional Katherine. But this is not the first time in history that radicals have married women unsympathetic to their views. I think it is more likely that Gene and Katherine came to some sort of working arrangement, as is so often the case, and were still in love at the end. At all events, while Debs was in jail in the Atlanta Penitentiary, Katherine wrote, in the old Socialist *Rip Saw* for November, 1921, a glowing tribute to her convict husband.

Still, on the whole Mr. Stone has recreated for new audiences the authentic figure of a great American, and for that all freedom-loving people who still hold to their ideals are indebted to him.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

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Beard on "The Federalist"

THE ENDURING FEDERALIST. Edited and Analyzed by Charles A. Beard. Doubleday and Company. $4.

IF YOU have never read *The Federalist*, you should read this edition. (It is skilfully abridged, repetitions and Madison's parade of classical precedents being mercifully omitted.) If you have read it, you can here reread it with the benefit of Professor Beard's introduction and reflections.

For years I have contended with students against a wholesale acceptance of Beard's essay on the Constitution, arguing for the existence of factors which his economic study neglected, the funded theoretical and experimental wisdom of the eighteenth century. The value and outlines of everything I have pleaded for have been immensely clarified for me by the pitting of my case against his. One does not have to "agree" with Beard to recognize in him the profoundest formulator of issues among living historians. Is the American system of federalism to be used as a model for a world union, he asks, or "is it to perish from the earth, giving place to a centralized despotism or a new feudalism everywhere, even in the United States?" It is a pleasure and a challenge to reread *The Federalist* under the guidance of a mind thus ranging and firmly on guard against letting self-deception take the place of knowledge.

PERRY MILLER

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"Fallen Sun" by Noel F. Busch
REVIEWED BY ROGER BALDWIN

"Russia in Flux" by Sir John Maynard
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"James Madison" by Irving Brant
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Films

JAMES AGEE

FARREBIQUE" was made on a farm in southern France by Georges Rouquier, who was born and raised in the neighborhood, left home and became a linotyper, and ultimately got into movie-making because he couldn't keep away from it. Rouquier had made only one short film before this, a documentary about the making of wine vats. Both the subject of the new film and the particular kind of movie treatment happen to be obsessions of mine; so I cannot hope that many other people will be as deeply excited and satisfied by this film as I am. On the other hand, it is clear to me that because of the same obsessions I would be more merciless toward any mismanagements and betrayals, of the subject or in the treatment, than most people would.

Rouquier's idea is simply to make a record of the work and living of a single farm family, and of the farm itself, and of the surrounding countryside, through one year. I cannot imagine a better subject, or one that is as a rule more degenerately perceived and presented. In a sense, all that can be said of Rouquier's treatment of it is that it is right. That means, among other things, the following:

He realizes that, scrupulously handled, the camera can do what nothing else in the world can do: can record unaltered reality; and can be made also to perceive, record, and communicate, in full unaltered power, the peculiar kinds of poetic vitality which blaze in every real thing and which are in great degree, inevitably and properly, lost to every other kind of artist except the camera artist. He is utterly faithful to this realization; and it is clear in nearly every shot that he is infinitely more than a mere documentor, that his poetic intelligence is profound, pure, and vigorous; and it is clear many times over that he has the makings, and now and then the achievement, of a major poet. There is not an invented person or thing in the picture, and the reenactments, and invented incidents, are perfect examples of the discipline of imagination necessary under these difficult circumstances. One could watch the people alone, indefinitely long, for the inference of his handling of them, to realize that moral clearness and probity are indispensable to work of this kind, and to realize with fuller contempt than ever before how consistently in our time so-called simple people, fictional and non-fictional, are consciously and unconsciously insulted and betrayed by artists and by audiences: it seems as if the man is hardly alive, any more, who is fit to look another man in the eye. But this man is; and this is the finest and strongest record of actual people that I have seen.

Rouquier's sense of the discretion and power of plot and incident, such as they are, is just as sure and as rare. Even more remarkable is his ability with all the small casual scraps of existence which are neither plot nor incident nor even descriptive, nor revealing of mood or character, but are merely themselves, and of the essence of being. He never imposes poetry or rhetoric or special significance upon these scraps, and they are never left half-dead and helpless, as mere shots for shots' sake: they are incredibly hard stuff to organize, but he has so ordered them that they are fully and euphoniously articulate in their own perfect language. He knows as well as any artist I can think of the power and the beauty there can be in absolute plainness: his record, for instance, of the differing faces of three men and two women as they stand in their home for night prayer; or the mere sequence of bedding down the cows. Much of the picture, and much of the finest of it, has this complete plainness; but raised against this ground bass Rouquier's sense of device and metaphor is equally bold and pure. He develops a wonderful communication of the rooted past, the flowering present, and the ungerminated future in about three minutes during which the Grandfather tells the children the history of the farm and family, while the camera examines snapshots and mementos which are like relics from a primitive grave. He does a beautiful thing in showing the dreams of the old man, his son, his son's wife, wishes as touching and naive as those of a child: then hovers the dreamless face of the Grandmother. His use of analogy and metaphor is Homeric in simplicity and force: the terrifying blooming of a sped flower, as an image of childbirth; the sound of an ax and of a falling tree

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as the camera watches a man's pulse die. He uses stop-motion as I have always wanted to use it: very plainly, to show the motions of darkness and light and shadow; and with complete freedom and daring, in his orgiastic sequence on spring, to show the jubilant rending and pouring upward and blossoming of the world. This sequence is as prescient and as primordially exciting as the "Pervigilium Veneris." He also dares to add to it—almost whispered, as it should be—a poem of his own; and so well as I could hear, it is an extremely good poem. I'm not sure the picture wouldn't be still better without it; yet it adds a quality and full dimension of its own, and in principle I am for it. In one sense this film is a kind of Bible which expounds not only the grave kinds of discipline necessary to such work but also the kinds, degrees, and tremendous reaches of liberty and adventure which obedience to these kinds of discipline makes possible.

Bosley Crowther of the *Times* has written that "Farrebique" is "lacking in strong dramatic punch . . . not even a plain folk triangle," and that it will have to depend for support upon "the loyal, the very loyal." I don't feel that Mr. Crowther means ill by the film—though there is a certain patronizing air toward those who are poky and arty enough to admire it—and I thoroughly disenjoy derogation by name; but when a great work of art is dismissed so casually as not so good as "the classic French film, 'Harvest' " (!), I find that I am loyal, very loyal. By no means all the great poetry in the world, especially the kind which is uniquely possible to moving pictures, is or can stand to be dramatic; and this picture is not for cultists, but for those who have eyes capable of seeing what is before them, and minds and hearts capable of caring for what they see. Others have complained that the film is repetitious. It is, exactly in the sense that the imitation and counterpoint and recurrence in a Mozart symphony are repetitious, and somewhere near as satisfyingly.

Rouquier's film is so far above and beyond the fat-headed "instructiveness" of most non-fiction films that I wish he had shown that even "instructive" material can transcend its kind. Even within his scheme as I understand it one should make clear just what the family lives on and just how it gets its living: but we don't know for sure, here, what is for subsistence and what goes to market. I wish also that there was a fuller record of the undomesticated natural year, as distinct from the farm; I learn that Rouquier wished so too, tried very hard for it, and could not get enough of what he was after—exactly the right shots of a fox, the flight of a crow, and so on. On "inanimate" nature and the differing lights of weathers and seasons, however, he was as right as it is imaginable to be. Whatever devices may have been used to help out the camera, they are used legitimately, that is, invisibly, and in order that the film may accept the exact light the world gives it; and in this the film is full of lovely achievements: subdued autumnal light in which the whole world is as scratchily distinct as trillions of little briars; the veiled shining of spring; the supernal light beneath impounded thunder; the holy light of snow. I would suppose, but am not sure, that with infra-red, or through stop-motion, luminous night images might have been had, of the woods and the open land, deep in the darkness—or throughout one night, condensed into a minute; of the luminousness of fallen snow in still, open woods during a cloudy night; of storming snow in the dark; of the stars. If these things were possible, I am very sorry not to see them here: sorriest, I guess, not to see what would have come of two shots: the stop-motion camera trained throughout one night upon the Pole Star, and upon the zenith on a moonless and starry night; so that in either case the whole sky turns, and bit by bit obliterates with morning. I think it is probable, too, that beautifully as the shots are articulated, and strong and rich as they are in poetry, they are seldom ordered into the definitive, unforgettable eloquence of the highest poetry which might have been made out of the subject. But it will take a good many seeings before I can be sure of that. I am sure already, however, of one thing. Whether or not this film is fully as great as it might have been, it is one of the finer works in the whole great line of rural art which extends backward through Van Gogh and Brueghel to the "Georgics" and to the "Works and Days." It combines the cold deep-country harshness of Hesiod with a Vergilian tenderness and majesty; and its achievement is wholly of our time, through that reverence for unaltered reality which can be translated into a work of art only through the camera.

I had to choose between writing of this film, which indicates that the greatness of moving pictures is by no means over, and writing of the death and tragic life of Sergei Eisenstein, in whom so many of the greatest possibilities conceivable in the medium were for a long while imprisoned and tormented, and now lie buried. I ultimately chose the former, not in any sentimental favoring of life over death, but because Eisenstein was a great hero to me, and I found that I could not hope to speak of him as I wished to, in a thousand words or so. I would be thankful, for his sake, that his life is over; but since for years on end, under unspeakable provocation, he successfully resisted suicide and martyrdom and madness in order to serve his genius as best he still could, he cannot be congratulated, with a whole heart, upon an escape he never sought.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued in two volumes all of Bach's Sonatas for violin and clavier, performed on the violin and harpsichord by Alexander Schneider and Ralph Kirkpatrick (Set 719, $19.20). No. 3 is, for me, one of Bach's best works, and there are movements that I enjoy in Nos. 1, 2, and 5; but the rest I find uninteresting. Kirkpatrick's playing is surprisingly sensitive at times, and not too disturbing even when more characteristically stodgy; Schneider plays with his usual beauty of sound (made a little wiry by

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the recording) and distinguished style, except that in the first movement of No. 3 the exaggerated nuances of his phrasing break up the phrases which should be sustained and large-spanned. Unfortunately the other recorded performances of No. 3 by Menuhin with his sister Hephzibah and with Landowska are poor; and the excellent performance recorded by Boris Schwarz and Alice Ehlers for Gamut is no longer available (the masters were acquired by Commodore, which has not pressed from them).

Columbia also has issued one of Franck's better works, his Sonata for violin and piano, played by Francescatti and Casadesus (Set 717, $4.60). It is, on the whole, a good performance, except for a tempo in the second movement that is too fast for clarity in the piano figuration (the Heifetz-Rubinstein performance is poor). The recorded sound of the violin is wiry, that of the piano dull.

Beautiful reproduction of violin and piano can be heard in the imported Parlophone recording (issued here by Decca) of Handel's fine Violin Sonata in D, excellently played by Simon Goldberg with Gerald Moore at the piano (Set P-59, $5.25). And also in the Parlophone recording I have managed to hear of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 96 for violin and piano, the last and most extraordinary of the series, excellently played by Goldberg and Lili Kraus (Set P-50, $7.35).

From Vox has come Brahms's Quartet Opus 67, a work I don't care for, well played by the Guilet Quartet, but its recorded sound brash and coarse (Set 208, $6).

I have heard a little of the H. M. V. recording of the performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 4 that Schnabel recorded with Dobrowen and the Philharmonia Orchestra in London two years ago—enough to report that it gives us some of the most beautiful playing Schnabel has ever done—relaxed, spacious, lovely in sound, the old art in inflection of phrase newly refined and subtilized, and the total effect one of matured clarification. I had the impression that he was playing in this way in the recent Carnegie Hall performance of the work with Szell and the Cleveland Orchestra, but couldn't be sure since I was sitting only halfway back on the center aisle of the parquet, where the piano sounded very clangy (in the parquet of Carnegie Hall it sounds right only in the left-rear section).

At Hunter College, however, there could be no doubt of Schnabel's marvelous inflection of the relaxed opening section of the great first movement of Schubert's Sonata Opus 78, the power he gave to the development, the similarly beautiful playing throughout the work; or of the stiffness and lack of the slightest grace or suavity in his treatment of the first movement of Mozart's Sonata K. 570, the torturing distention of the phrases of the slow movement for exaggerated expressiveness, the brutal pounding of the finale; or of the flaws, technical and expressive, in a performance of Beethoven's Opus 111 which, even with these flaws, is the definitive performance of the work—such a flaw, for example, as the excessive intensity in the early variations of the second movement, which does not in any way alter the wonderful effect of Schnabel's handling of the progression from the hushed mystery of Variation 4 to the radiance of the end. There was also Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, of which the Fantasy was interminable and the Fugue stodgy. And though nothing anyone could say would induce Schnabel not to put the strain on an audience's stamina that he did with his huge program, I will nevertheless point out the consequence—that by the time he got to the second movement of Opus 111, where I am sure he wanted the utmost quiet, the fidgeting of the tired audience was like the noise of a plague of tent-caterpillars devouring the leaves in a forest.

At the Cleveland Orchestra concert I heard, in addition to the Beethoven concerto, only Smetana's "Die Moldau," in which I enjoyed the superb playing of the orchestra but not some unusual and fussy details of tempo and dynamics in Szell's treatment of music which should be played straightforwardly.

I was not the only one who, at the opening concert in the Budapest Quartet's Mozart-Schubert series at the Y. M. H. A., was shocked by the new deterioration in the playing. This time it wasn't merely occasional scratchy tone or imperfect intonation, but a loss of the ease and elasticity and life in ensemble that formerly was so outstanding: the members of the group simply were no longer working well together. Some performances were better than others—for example the slow movement of Schubert's D minor Quartet; but the one exciting performance was that of Schubert's Quintet Opus 163, in which the quartet was probably stimulated by the guest second cellist, Frank Miller, whose playing was breath-taking in tone, phrasing, and ensemble relation to the playing of the others.

I must add that in Town Hall, where the Budapest group played two Beethoven programs for the New Friends of Music, it sounded better than in the insufficiently resonant Y. M. H. A. auditorium.

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Letters to the Editors

Boring from Within

Dear Sirs: It was with much interest that I read Carey McWilliams's article on Spiritual Mobilization in your issue of February 7. There is no doubt that this organization or movement has anti-democratic roots. However, I don't believe that the American clergy are as gullible as the article would seem to make them. Many of my friends and, indeed, I myself have been on the mailing list of Fifield's group simply so that we might be aware of what was up. Undoubtedly we are counted among his "representatives" by Mr. Fifield and his board. Likewise, although many church periodicals have run the ads of the Spiritual Mobilizers, I have noticed that all of them have consistently run editorials opposing the movement.

However, since unknown sources are putting up extensive and unhealthy sums for the work being done by this group, I, as a Protestant minister, wish to thank you for having exposed them.

WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD, JR.
Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy

Detroit, Mich., February 21

Where's the Growth?

Dear Sirs: As a Protestant minister and a Nation Associate I am glad that you published Battle for the Clergy by Carey McWilliams, but I regret that you labeled the article on the magazine cover "a growing Protestant movement." McWilliams gives no indication that it is either a movement or growing. He says that it is paid for by slush funds provided by Dr. James Fifield. Its so-called members, he says, meet occasionally for free luncheons and they pay no dues and make no contributions. That does not sound to me like a movement.

I have been a minister for ten years. At the present time I am secretary of the Executive Committee of the Dutchess County Council of Churches. I have heard several severe condemnations of Spiritual Mobilization and in all my experience only one voice in favor of it. Norman Vincent Peale wrote me asking me to join. He is the voice in favor, and he doesn't know me. At the New York State Pastors' Convocation at Syracuse in early February Spiritual Mobilization was branded as a hypocritical front of the National Association of Manufacturers. I think you were not fair to Protestantism when you labeled Spiritual Mobilization "a growing Protestant movement." Where's the growth?

JOHN H. HATT

Pleasant Valley, N. Y., February 27

Examine the Charges

Dear Sirs: Under the Charter of the United Nations all members of that organization are pledged to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered," and "to insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest."

Every intelligent person must recognize that an infinitely dangerous threat to international peace and security exists in the present bitter antagonism between the United States and Soviet Russia. Because of this situation, and our obligations to the United Nations, is it not mandatory that our government should at once submit to the Security Council a full and explicit statement of its charges against the Soviet Union for investigation and ensuing action under the procedure specified in Chapter VII of the Charter?

Surely in such a crisis we should have sufficient faith in the justice of our case not only to permit but to require its thorough examination by an impartial tribunal whose machinery for conciliation and arbitration we are solemnly bound to utilize in precisely this sort of contingency.

WALDO R. BROWNE

Warwick, N. Y., February 26

Convict the Mufti

Dear Sirs: In the February 21 issue of *The Nation* you published a strong letter signed by a number of individuals against the "travesty of justice" in the case of the Flicks, the Krupps, and the I. G. Farben criminals as collaborators of Heinrich Himmler, the Gestapo chief. I fully agree, but what of that arch-collaborator of Himmler, the Mufti, the instigator of the barbarous murders of millions of human beings? So long as he is at liberty to continue his infamous carnage in Palestine, the world stands indicted of sanctioning genocide. The Mufti was imprisoned by the Turks as a rebel and an insurrectionist but was liberated by the British Palestinian government. He should have been tried and executed at Nürnberg along with the other Nazi criminals. He is a rebel against the U. N.'s decisions and a collaborator with the British to kill "partition" and to annihilate the Hebrew people in Palestine. As long as he is alive, there is danger of war in the Middle East.

MRS. H. PEREIRA MENDES

Atlantic City, N. J., February 27

Law Is Law

Dear Sirs: More than ten years ago I came to this country as a Jewish refugee from Germany. The Nazis took away my citizenship and my lifetime savings. So you will understand that I hold no brief for Flick or any other Nazi criminal.

None the less, as an American citizen I feel compelled to contradict the letter by Courtenay Barber, Jr., and others, in your issue of February 21. These gentlemen—among whom certainly are very honest and upright supporters of civil liberties—seem to me to overshoot the mark. They demand that the sentence passed upon Mr. Flick be set aside because, in their opinion, it is too mild. They also urge a new trial and perhaps the establishment of new procedures, for the admitted purpose of obtaining a more severe punishment. They seem not to realize that such action, unauthorized by existing law, not only would involve a rather doubtful application of ex post facto law but also violate the essential provision in the Fifth Amendment of our Constitution against double jeopardy. This amendment is binding on an American military court. Any attempt to change the legal procedure after the court had passed sentence, with the admitted purpose of substi-

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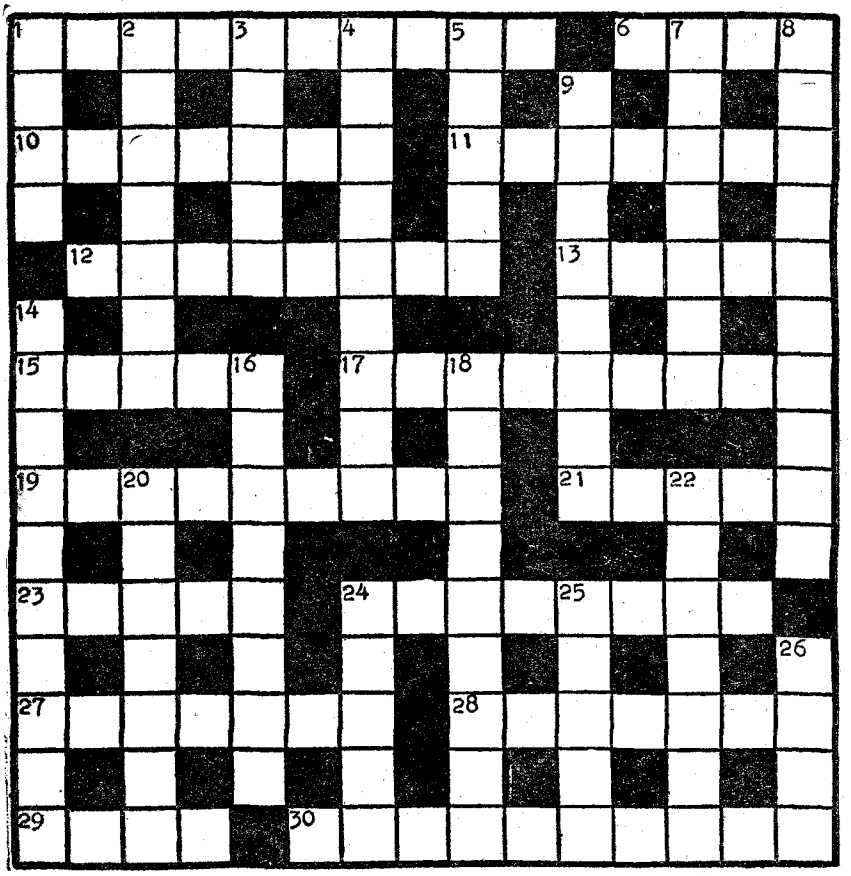
Crossword Puzzle No. 254

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Practically a philosopher. (10)
6 A tell-tale wife of this .... (4)
10 ..... and tell-tale papers. (7)
11 First (and last) by this some things are noted. (7)
12 Transport passage. (8)
13 Am all turned around here. (5)
15 Found throughout most of France. (5)
17 No inhabited region is. (9)
19 Two spear carriers? (5, 4)
21 Arrangement. (5)
23 Relative, "taken at the flood." (5)
24 Lone royalist. (8)
27 Chapter and verse to a Hindu. (Hyphenated.) (7)
28 The sort of age I'm in, to make a guess. (7)
29 How a sort of user might make certain of it. (4)
30 The lonesome pine, for example? (10)

DOWN

1 Top of the pastry? (4)
2 Tolstoi heroine, about ten, but still capable of feeling things. (7)
3 Cut for grinding purposes. (5)
4 A dance was reputedly the cure for its bite. (9)
5 On the other side of a hook. (5)
7 A large trouble, but serves a lady right! (7)
8 Although they come from a low place, it's not the tunnel. (10)
9 Make it dove-tail when infringed upon. (8)
14 Take Fred a straw later on. (10)
16 Royal ones help you get a bite. (8)
18 Did such players have walk-on parts? (9)
20 Pull it neater. (7)
22 A bus is so common. (7)
24 His pa was a soldier. (5)
25 Mark the other brother? (5)
26 It wasn't Adam who was venerable. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 253

ACROSS:—1 OFTENTIMES; 6 SPOT; 10 DYNAMIC; 11 ASPERSE; 12 AVER; 13 ANNO DOMINI; 15 COTTAGE; 16 RETOUCH; 17 OBSCURE; 20 PROVERB; 22 FINANCIERS; 23 PERI; 25 CADENCE; 26 INERTIA; 27 REEL; 28 CENTIGRADE.

DOWN:—1 ORDNANCE OFFICER; 2 TANGENT; 3 NOME; 4 INCENSE; 5 ENAMOUR; 7 PURLIEU; 8 THE LIGHT BRIGADE; 9 APPORTION; 14 SATURNINE; 18 SINE DIE; 19 EVIL EYE; 20 PERSISTS; 21 ELECTRA; 24 BERG.

tuting the death penalty for a seven years' sentence, may be in harmony with the custom of some Soviet-dominated courts—where the penalty has been affixed before the sham trial—but not with our concept of a fair trial by independent courts.

In my opinion it would be a rather contemptible method of business and would not help our efforts to educate the German people in the ways of democracy. WILHELM LEVINGER

New York, February 25

Not the Author's Fault

Dear Sirs: In his review of Dwight Macdonald's "Henry Wallace" in your last issue Robert Bendiner takes the author to task for saying that David Karr took a forty-six-thousand-dollar job in OWI. Actually—and I confess this with a great deal of reluctance—this error was committed by Vanguard and not by the author. In transcribing the figures in his manuscript to words an editor unfortunately wrote "forty-six thousand" instead of "forty-six hundred." We are correcting this error in the second printing.

I am chagrined about the entire matter, and especially sorry that Mr. Macdonald should be blamed for it.

JAMES HENLE,
President, Vanguard Press

New York, March 3

Another Exchange Offer

Dear Sirs: I should be glad to exchange copies of the *New Statesman and Nation,* the *Tribune,* and *Reynolds'* with any American readers of *The Nation* or some other left-wing American periodical, if there is another. My address is St. Hilary, Bull Lane, Rayleigh, Essex.

A. B. CLINKSCALES

Rayleigh, England, February 19

And Still Another

Dear Sirs: I should be glad to hear from Americans engaged in adult-education work, as I am, with a view to exchanging American periodicals of the standard of your own excellent journal, or booklets, pamphlets, and official publications. I would gladly send some of the White Papers and official reports or booklets issued by the Royal Institute for International Affairs in exchange for similarly reliable American reports. My address is 48, Harle Street, Neath, Glamorgan, Wales.

GWYN ILLTYD LEWIS

Neath, Wales, February 7

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